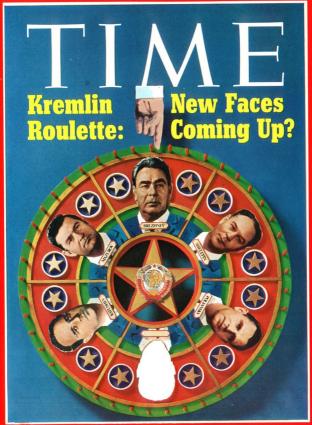
MARCH 29, 1971

FIFTY CENTS



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#### IFTTFRS

#### Venom for Profit

Sir: Some fighter this Muhammad Ali [March 8]. He should use his venom to protect his poor black buddles sweating it out in Viet Nam. If he abhors violence, why is he mak-

ing a very profitable living by using his hands against a fellow black?

(Mrs.) EDYTHE CUMMINS Pensacola, Fla.

Sir: It seems to me an insult to all of the young American men who have bravely and not always willingly fought in our armed forces to have Cassius Clay's picture on the cover of TIME. As the mother of two draft-age young men, it makes

me sick to my stomach. (Mrs.) Ruth M. Langstaff Sacramento

Sir: The Establishment certainly does have a peculiar sense of values. It cannot stand the sight of nudity and lovemaking in public, labels them obscene and passes laws against them, but it rushes to pay huge sums for the "pleasure" of watching two people beat each other to a pulp or worse in the prizefight ring.

(Mrs.) Winifred B. Lombardi Van Nuys, Calif.

Viva America! Only she could spend millions to see "two men whack at each other in a ring" and refuse support to a space program designed to increase man's knowledge of his world.

LYNDA GAIDIS Framingham, Mass.

Sir: It seems as if all writers in their subconscious hoped to hell that Frazier would beat Ali. Why? Because as they have said in not so many words, Frazier is an ig-norant jackass, the kind of black man black man they like to have around. For a black man not to have thought about the black movement simply means he is not a "Black Man," but what most whites like to see. RHONDA WILLIAMS

Jersey City

#### A Cloud of Ink

Sir: Congratulations to Melvin Maddocks for his Essay on "The Limitations of Language" [March 8]. After 30 years of reading technical articles on biology, I am cor vinced that obscure prose shows that the writer is not sure of what he is trying to say. He is like the proverbial cuttlefish that is supposed to evade its enemies by disappearing in a cloud of ink.

KENNETH D. ROEDER Medford, Mass.

Sir: We should pass a law setting up a word bank. Pay writers and speakers and other communicators not to write and speak. Give them a base of 10,000 words speak. Give them a base or 10,000 and a year. For every word under 10,000, give them a subsidy of 10¢ a word. would stop this communication explosion and would go a long way to make sure that when people write or speak, they have something to say. JIM ATKINS

Alexandria, Va.

Sir: Mr. Maddocks sounds like the Miss Fidditch of the 1600s who was constantly admonishing her school charges not to use that "vulgar" word you, but rather the "correct" thee, thou, thy and thine. Languages have always changed, such change is neither "healthy" nor "un-healthy," and neither the admonitions of Miss Fidditch nor a Melvin Maddocks will do very much to affect our use of that magnificent and mysterious thing we call language.

#### RICHARD L. LIGHT Latham, N.Y.

Sir: Your Essay was pointed and perceptive, but you're talking about termi-nology, not language. Language is alive and human; terminology is stagnant and mechanistic. When "war" (language) can mechanistic. When "war" (language) can easily be transformed into "pacification" (terminology), then "right" and "wrong" (language) become matters of "rational-ization" (terminology). Language like ization" (terminology). Language lik "open housing," "poverty" and "My Lai require people to take stands; terminology imposes no such moral imperative becau it explains away conscience and integrity and thus makes man less human. THOMAS F. MADER

Syosset, N.Y.

Sir: Contrary to Mr. Maddocks, I would like to suggest that the reason most people rate "semantic aphasia" so low is that they intuitively recognize the problem for what it is-a pseudo problem.

Louis V. Zuck Ann Arbor, Mich.

#### The Cool Moon

Sir: Maybe James Taylor [March 1] does not know how to talk, but he certainly knows how to sing. It is true that his guitar fingering lends sudden lights and shadows to the barest melody. But there is something more in Taylor's music than that. It enters through the ears, chills in the pit of the stomach, melts and dis-

If Janis Joplin was a twinkling star, James Taylor is the cool moon in the sky of rock music.

M.Y. PRABHU New Brunswick, N.J.

Sir: If Taylor sings with "dignity," "restraint" and talent, then what adjectives, pray tell, are we to use for the Bernsteins, Coplands, Mozarts and even Sinatras of the world?

I find reprehensible the publicizing and

ample of a lost, freaky youngster who. like countless others, is engulfed in his own esoteric world of egomania, copping out, cacophony, inarticulateness and

> PATRICIA B. KIRK Denver

Sir: You continue to amaze your ignorance of pop music. It is a fad, and fads come and go. James Taylor is In because he looks like Jesus Christ Superstar and that's that.

ALLEN ELDRED Jacksonville, Vt.

#### Discarded Orange Peel

Sir: Bucky's Bubble in Montreal and scores of other geodesic domes stand as monuments to Mr. Fuller's well-rounded genius [March 1]. However, I cannot accept the proposal that "dome-iciles" are the answer to the global need for lowcost housing. When a designer cannot economically achieve warmth, friendliness and informality with square walls, I hardly think it appropriate to blame the walls. Your photographs illustrate how cold and uninviting a dome can be on the interior and how the exterior can be made to resemble a piece of discarded orange peel. WAYNE TOBIASSON Hanover, N.H.

Sir: I've enjoyed it and I've had it! My round house in Los Angeles is up for sale, and I'm looking for a conventional square one. The architecture is magnificent but there is no economy in the round and even less comfort. It's a great bach-elor pad, and she will never feel cornered in it, but wait until you try to buy fur-nishings for that oval and wind up having them made at four times the usual price, plus having to design them yourself. PAUL BINDRIM

Los Angeles

#### I Am Not a Water Plant

Sir: As first-year Latin students, our class became curious about your title Civis Britannicus Non Sum [March 8].

tannicus Non Sum [March 8].

We think the correct adjective you wished to use was Britannus, so the title would translate as "I Am Not a British Citizen." The adjective Britannicus refers to a water plant, and your title translates: "I Am Not a Water Plant Citizen. DARRYL CHOY

Latin Class Representative Francisco Junior High School San Francisco

▶ Either Britannicus or Britannus can be translated as "British." As to the vege-tation, Pliny the Elder wrote; "Why the

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How about a flat headlight as wide as your car, to evenly light the road?

Or an inch-deep color TV set?

K1

Or a wrist watch without a dial, that shows the time in numbers at the instant you push a button?

That's part of the future we see in our crystal chips.

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son why C & S likes its Bells.

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productive day work," says C & S Aviation Director Walt Smith.

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K3

## I say pfooey on old traditions.

# Guten Tag smiling employees of Lufthansa German Airlines:

You will continue to be efficient and meticulous and punctual and all those nice German things.

You will stop being dull and cold and humorless and all those not nice German things.

Be schmaltzy, not stuffy.

The Red Baron

plant was so called I greatly wonder, unless perhaps, living on the shore of the British ocean, they have so named the britannica because it is, as it were, a near neighbor of Britain."

#### Massive Exams

Sir: The President's plan for health [March 1] should read "Prescription for Ill-ness." This country's ills would be better treated by establishing massive programs for prevention. Why not make annual, thorough physical examinations of every citizen mandatory under law with penalties

ough physical examinations of every citizen mandatory under law with penalties for violators?

Granted the cost involved in implementation of such a program would be high, but once such a system were established, a great many dollars would be saved since disease and hospitalization.

could be kept at a minimum.

JANET DOMBROSKY

Cleveland

Sir: "In the U.S. today, only the rich can afford to be ill." Are you kidding? From where I sit, only the indigent can parlay a simple headache into a comprehensive physical exam, blood and urine studies, brain scan, E.E.G. and skull films—without ever seeing a bill.

NORMA W. COUTURE, R.N. Methuen, Mass.

#### By the Sea

lately?

Sir: Your interesting piece on Painter John Marin [Feb. 22] ends with his remark: "Isn't it funny that Dictators never never live by the sea?"

never never live by the sea?"
Apparently old Marin did not know
that the prototype of dictators, Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, lived
his happiest years in power in a seaside
mansion with open windows and balconies
to the Caribbean in Santo Domingo. He
only moved to other quarters because his
wife got tired of fighting the dampness
and abundance of termites.

O.B. CLOUDSHIRE Toluca, Mex.

#### Come Wednesday Night, Mr. Chayefsky

Sir: It would be better if the World Conference on Soviet Jewry [March 8] were more like a Wednesday night Hadassah meeting. Hadassah women support a multimillion-dollar hospital, training and research centers, and a large youth program. Has Mr. Chayefsky attended a meeting

(Mrs.) Barbara Lubel. San Antonio

Address Letters to TIME, TIME & LIFE Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020.



TIME, MARCH 29, 1971

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#### A letter from the PUBLISHER

Henry Luce an

TIME has no front page in the newspaper sense of the word, but we have always paid special attention to the first page of the Nation section. Traditionally that has been the spot for our lead article, known in office jargon as the "Nation lede." Almost invariably it deals with some major event -more often than not, the actions of the President. The Nation lede, of course, is still there, but it has moved a little farther into the magazine. Now it is preceded by a feature that the editors introduced 18 months ago, entitled American Notes.

Varied though they are (and are meant to be), they have certain things in common. They are short, They reflect American life. An American Note may simply relate a funny or poignant incident, but it usually has some special significance. It may be a minor vignette or a brief comment on a major event; it may underscore the important or puncture the absurd. "The ideal item," says Nation Editor Jason McManus, "contains a moral, or a quality of fable, or the nu-

cleus of some atom of the national

mood ' We like to think of the feature as a kind of conversation by and about the American community. As such, American Notes juxtapose the offbeat with more conventional subjects. Last week, for instance, the item about a storekeeper so riled by robberies that he let rattlesnakes loose in his shop was more than an oddity; it was a commentary on a frame of mind. This week's account of a union's troubles with its own unionized employees deals with the ultimate possibilities of such a paradox.

Lance Morrow normally writes American Notes, as well as handling other Nation assignments (he is the author of seven cover stories). A Harvard alumnus ('63, magna cum laude),

E



WRITER LANCE MORROW

Morrow has written poetry and plays, acted, worked as a newspaper re-

porter in Washington and once spent nearly a year touring the U.S. in an old Volkswagen bus. According to McManus, "Morrow has the highestvelocity vocabulary of any writer on TIME. But even his most recherché words are so exquisitely targeted that they often cannot be changed. Now we only allow him three zingers per issue." Says Morrow: "American Notes are fragments that you can seize

upon and draw conclusions from. At best, they have a quality of surprise." He generally writes the notes at home, two cats on his lap and his wife Brooke, a former TIME researcher, near by in case an idea needs a test reaction. His current hobby is a survey of Howard Johnson's french-fried onion rings. Explains Morrow: "Their quality, like the rest of American life, varies enormously."

The Cover: Construction of wood, paper and photographs by Kit Hinrichs, photographed by Robert Crandall,

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#### YOU CAN GET ANYWHERE FROM HERE

This is telephone cable from Western Electric. It connects your telephone or data set with your local Bell telephone company office — your link with 115 million phones all over the country.

The cable Western Electric made last year contained enough wire to reach

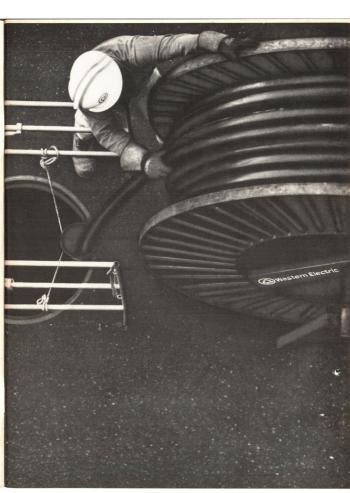
more than two-thirds of the way to the sun. Why was so much needed?

For one thing, Bell telephone companies installed nearly 4 million new phones during the year. And you're probably using your phone more often. All of which requires more cable to get you where you want to

go. All over the country.

Western Electric. The people who make Bell telephones and the communications equipment of the future.







#### THE NATION

#### AMERICAN NOTES War of Words

One of the casualties of the Viet Nam War sometimes seems to be the English language. Thus the South Vietnamese invasion into Laos has evoked some zealously euphemistic official prose. Although no newsmen were allowed to accompany the operation, it was clear that Saigon's troops were not only killing thousands of North Vietnamese soldiers but also taking devastating casualties themselves, and in some instances retreating in bloody dis-order (see The World). Pentagon analvsts called it "a rearguard action under medium pressure," and some Saigon briefers spoke of it as "redeployment" -a word that suggests the shuffling of papers from IN basket to OUT basket. One South Vietnamese general, obviously an apt student of the language, explained it as "normal troop rotation

Another rule of political language distates the judicious use of silence. Thus last week Labor Secretary James Hodgson announced that henceforth the prolessional statisticians of the Bureau of Labor Statistics may no longer brief the press regarding monthly figures on inflation and unemployment. The decision, Hodgson said, was made in consultation was made in professional staff that might result from policy questions." There is more than a suspicion among

Washington newsmen that the "awk-wardness" has risen simply because the BLS professionals have in the past explained some disconcerting economic truths that conflicted with official optimism on the economy. The Leadtan invasion may set turn out to be as satisfactories of the control of the

#### Son of Joe Hill

After a costly ten-week strike last fall, the United Auto Workers won an immediate 13% wage increase from General Motors and then turned on Chrysler, which yielded similar raises, including a 13% pay boost for several thousand white-collar workers.

Last week officers of the U.A.W. in a painful Detroit found themselves in a painful role reversal. Around Solidarity House, the U.A.W. headquarters, 35 00 of the union's own hirelings, members of the AFLE-CLO'S Office and Professional Union, had thrown a picket line, demanding that the U.A.W. cough up the same 13% raise that it had won for the auto workers.

It mattered little that the office workers already earn between \$188 and \$196 per week—compared to \$191 for most auto workers—and that the U.A.W. was offering a weekly increase of \$8.05. "They want more than the people who pay them," complained U.A.W. Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey. The most ratumizine part of it came when the U.A.W. men had to cross the picket U.A.W. men had to cross the picket of almost mystical impiety equivalent to the Women's Christian Temperance Union throwing a cocktail party. The seene suggested facing mirrors—unions within unions, strikes within arrikes, Joe within unions, strikes within arrikes, Joe how well is the Office Employees Union paying its hired help?

#### Out of the Bag

From his gypsy forebears, John Miller inherited an idiosyncaric custom. For four generations, the Millers have carefully guarded a small green leather pouch containing coins and a knotted ed cloth, that was said to keep ill fortune from the family as long as it remained unopened. Miller, a boiler repairman in Tempe, Artz, protected himpers of the control of the control of the reposit box in the value of the Tempe branch of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Phoesia.

Then the bank, through clerical error, thought that Miller had failed to pay his \$6 annual rental fee. Bank empty of the state of the s

#### Casus Belli

Perhaps it was the atmosphere of the Ali-Frazier championship fight that prompted an excess of macho in Washington. The news trickled out that during the annual Gridfron Club dinner, an expension of the annual Gridfron Club dinner, an expension of the control o

Statistical and a solution in the control of the control days when Washington was a more crudely physical place—the brawling floor of the House was called "the bear agarden" and Vice President Martin Van Buren wore a braze of pitols to pre-Charles Reich (The Greening of America), this was not even Consciousness 1. Aday or two after the Boggs-Mitchell match, the former Mouse Colleague, Edward Hebert, edges the design of this place of the Consciousness 1. Aday or two after the Boggs-Mitchell match, the former's House colleague, Edward Hebert, edges and the consciousness with the consciousness of the consciousness



OFFICE WORKERS PICKETING U.A.W. HEADQUARTERS

An act of impiety.



THE NIXONS & COXES AT WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

#### A June Wedding in the White House

VE encouraged her to elope," White House Press Aide Connie Stuart confided two months back. No such luck. The announcement was leaked in advance, but when President Nixon went before the St. Patrick's Eve crowd of 300 in the East Room he insisted: "Until I say it, it's not official." So he said it: "Mrs. Nixon and I are very honored to announce the engagement of our daughter Tricia to Edward Cox of New York." Petite and elegant in a low-cut white gown bordered with ostrich feathers, Tricia led her fiancé onto the stage to warm applause. She outshone everybody that evening-the guest of honor, Ireland's Prime Minister John Lynch: her mother. whose 59th birthday was part of the celebration; and her prospective in-laws. whom Nixon failed to introduce. It will be a White House wedding, the eighth for a daughter of an incumbent President, some time in June. The exact date depends on when Eddie Cox can get free from his second-year exams at Harvard Law School.

Careful Tricia has not exactly rushed into marriage. The two met on a blind date at a Chapin School dance in 1963, during the Nexons first year in New Constance of the Constance of the Constance Ball. After she had graduated from Finch and he from Princeton in 1968, he appeared at her side to watch the nomination proceedings in the Nixon famination familiary familiary

They became secretly engaged two years ago; since then the romance has gone on from coast to coast, from the Cox family estate in Westhampton Beach, L.I., to San Clemente, from Camp David to Key Biscayne. She has visited Cox frequently in Cambridge.

Mass, where they customarily dine -surrounded by Secret Service agents -at small, inexpensive restaurants or at Lincoln's Inn. a law-school social club. Last Thanksgiving Cox asked Nixon for his daugher's hand. "Eddie was white as a sheet." Bebe Rebozo, who was standing by recalled the rather. Tricia stid, you was proposed to compare the compared to the compared to just before Christmas. Tricia has been sporting a diamond-and-sapphire ring, an heirloom first given to Cox's maternal grandmother. Eddie is 24, Tricia 25—only seven months apart.

Six Flights. Cox is more than suited for the match. "One wonderful thing about Eddie," says a White House source, "is that he is not after Tricia because she is the daughter of the President." His parents are Social Register New York; his father Howard, who likes to be called "Colonel," is a lawyer who served in the Army Air Corps during World War II. A forebear, Robert R. Livingston, administered the oath of office to President-elect George Washington, Eddie Cox wears tweed jackets and speaks in impeccable prep-school accents. He earned the wry nickname "Fast Eddie" at Manhattan's Trinity School-after a dissolute pool shark in The Hustler. whom the studious Cox scarcely resembles-because he was a stickler for deadlines when editor of the school paper. He drives an old Ford station wagon and regularly runs up the six flights to his Cambridge apartment. ("This building is full of elderly widows," he says. makes it quiet, all right.") After graduation in 1972, Cox will enter the Army with an ROTC commission earned at Princeton; following that, he plans to practice public-service law. This summer he will work in the office of Whitney

North Seymour Jr., U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York.

In the past he has been more adventurous. He studied architecture at Yale before switching to law because it offered a greater chance for involvement in social issues. He spent one recent summer writing for the liberal New Republic, another working with Nader's Raiders, where he helped assemble a scathing report on personnel practices at the Federal Trade Commission. One law school acquaintance calls him "a left leaner from the right side of the tracks," Tricia insists that Cox is a registered Republican. "He considers him-self an independent," she said at a press conference last week. But "I think he'd. vote for my father if he ran again.'

Without question, Cox is a good bit more liberal than his intended. "She is slightly to the right of Ivan the Tersays one Republican campaign worker. Last year she said of Spiro Agnew: "The Vice President is incredible. It's amazing what he has done to the media, helping them to reform themselves. You can't underestimate the power of fear." In 1964, Tricia, then only 18, sent an admiring letter to Lester Maddox, later Governor of Georgia, She suggested that he might avoid serving blacks by turning his fried-chicken restaurant into a private club. Subsequently, she expressed dismay that her letter had been taken as racist and denied that it was so intended.

For all her aloofness Tricia commands a ready reservoir of warmth and charm when she chooses: many apolitical viewers thought her televised tour of the White House last May outdid Jackie Kennedy's celebrated 1962 performance. But, as one friend explains, "Tricia is a private person living her private life."



AT TRICIA'S DEBUT, 1964







DEBUTANTE BALL IN 1970 Tweed jackets and a Dresden doll.

the way she wants." Her romance with Cox remained secret for a long time because she always flies by military jet. So they were able to spend nearly every weekend together in assorted family homes and those of friends-untracked. Between weekends, Eddie telephoned every day, "sometimes twice, three times" a day, beams Tricia.

Even the domestic staff at the White House cannot say with certainty what she does with her time, apart from very occasional service as a teacher's aide in an all-black Washington thirdgrade class. The press has dubbed her the Howard Hughes of the White House." In the back halls of the mansion, her iron will is legend, "Despite that Dresden-doll look, Tricia could handle anything," says the President's longtime personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, Nixon agrees, "Tricia has a Woods. Nixon agrees. "Tricia has a very strong personality," he said in an interview last year. "For example, when I say, 'Let's go to church,' sometimes Tricia says, 'No.' And she doesn't go." One White House staffer puts it less kindly: "Tricia has a princess complex. When she stamps her little foot, you'd better snap to." Tricia, however, finds the princess description "unreal."

Good Marks, Usually Tricia keeps to herself around the White House. Luci and Lynda Bird Johnson often slipped downstairs to stand with the social aides at the back of the East Room during the after-dinner entertainment, but Tricia does not appear unless she is a fullfledged dinner guest. Except for an outdoor affair honoring Prince Charles and Princess Anne, last year she attended only the dinners honoring French President Georges Pompidou, British Prime Minister Edward Heath, the Duke and Duchess of Windsor and the African ambassadors to Washington. One friend's explanation for her seeming aloofness is persuasive: "Tricia is basically shy. It takes three times as much effort for her to meet people and chat with strangers as it would for Julie." When Tricia does make the effort, she gets good marks for grace. Says the same friend: 'She's like an actress who goes on.'

Like a good actress, Tricia had something to offer the Love Story set when she met the ladies of the press on the morrow of the engagement announcement, "The most important thing for a successful marriage is love, but love is so intangible," she observed. "It's so important to accept one another, even though you are very different. I think you should complement one another.' She said she may study American history while Cox finishes law school, and she told the startled newswomen, whom she had sedulously avoided: "I envy you all your jobs." On a more immediate point, she allowed that she knows how to make Eddie's favorite chocolatechin cookies and can cook eggs and pancakes. But, well, "bacon is hard." Not a moment too soon, Mother Pat gave her a book of "foolproof" recipes as an engagement present.

THE PRESIDENCY

Pushing the Human Side "By March." Presidential Adviser

John Ehrlichman predicted in mid-January, "all the press carping will be forgotten. The President will have announced this year's program. He'll have the initiative. He'll have a forward-looking, dynamic aspect."

Ehrlichman's optimism was at least premature. In March the President's 'new American revolution" is sputtering on Capitol Hill. The Gallup poll found that, thanks to Laos, 69% of the American people think the Administration "is not telling the public all they should know" about Viet Nam. Nor is there any dramatic improvement yet in either inflation or unemployment. Issues aside, one of Richard Nixon's most insistent problems remains the old devilment of his personal image

White House aides sometimes despair that his more human qualities and his executive strengths simply do not get across to the people. Says Attorney General John Mitchell: "People do not see the President for what he really is or see what he is really doing. He is the most misunderstood and underestimated President." As Nixon knows, that "misunderstanding" is liable to become more and more politically dangerous to him as 1972 approaches

Equal Time. Thus, despite his deep

suspicions of the news media, Nixon has embarked on what is for him an extraordinary campaign of public relations. "It's a feeling on the President's part," says one White House staff member, "that the time has come to make it more personal. This is the first sustained effort to show the President's personal side

At times recently, Nixon has been in the uncharacteristic position of actually pursuing the press himself-a minor symptom of his tendency to veer from one extreme to another. Two weeks ago, NRC's Barbara Walters was about to embark on a vacation when she received a call from the White House inviting her to bring down a camera crew for what became a two-hour interview for the Today show. Broadcast last week, the program had Nixon chatting about his wife Pat, American family life and other values. When the interviewer prodded him gently about his "stuffy" image, the President protested, a bit too much, that he never gave the matter a thought. "I don't worry about images," he said. "I am just going to do a good job for this country.

This week Nixon scheduled an hour's interview with ABC-TV's Howard K. Smith, Earlier, Nixon consented to a long on-the-record talk with conservative British Journalist Peregrine Worsthorne, which resulted in some eye-opening optimism about the ultimate outcome in Indochina. Nixon even sent Worsthorne some afterthoughts about his childhood: "I developed in these formative years a strong commitment toward individual responsibility and individual dignity.

The President remains careful about

the newsmen he will see. The New York Times's James Reston, Max Frankel and Robert Semple have had standing requests with the White House for Nixon interviews, but the President instead summoned an old journalistic friend, the Times's somewhat more conservative columnist Cyrus L. Sulzberger, when he wanted to talk. The first that the paper's Washington bureau knew of the session was when Sulzberger walked in and reported that he had just spent an hour with the President. Nixon made the somewhat startling prediction that Viet Nam would be the nation's last war, but generally provided a thoughtful and tempered tour d'horizon of world affairs.

At least part of the President's new expansiveness springs from current family happenings-Tricia's engagement, for example. Just before Pat Nixon turned 59, the President invited nine women reporters to the Oval Office for a 75-minute talk about his wife and daughters, about his catsup-on-cottage-cheese dietary lunches and his self-discipline. Yet as often happens when Richard Nixon attempts jovial bonhomie, the encounter had a certain wooden quality. He may mean to reveal "the human side," but it remains curiously elusive. As one White House aide observes: "You have to recognize that Richard Nixon is a very private man.

Showdown on the SST

ONCE again the Congress faced a question of national priorities. Much of U.S. labor and all of the aerospace industry had rallied behind the supersonic transport aircraft as a symbol of technological supremacy. In one of those massive lobbying campaigns that had proved so effective in the past, the professional persuaders argued that U.S. prestige, thousands of jobs and billions of dollars in profits were at stake in the continued development of the plane. The pressure, economic and nationalistic, seemed irresistible. But last week the House of Representatives, which had staunchly supported the SST through ten years of controversy, stunningly reversed itself and voted to terminate all funds for the aircraft

The SST's critics had revived all of the specters of environmental damage that a fleet of SSTs might inflict, including a frightening and seemingly exaggerated new emphasis on the increased

hazards of skin cancer.

But basically they asked, "Who needs it?" With the nation's cities decaying, government at all levels screaming for financial aid, and welfare costs soaring, shy should federal funds be used to help a relatively small number of passengers reach London and Paris a little

faster? With the British, French and Russians already marketing a possibly uneconomical SST and worrying about selling it, why should the U.S. taxpayer be asked to join the gamble? On the other hand, if the plane was as surefire a moneymaker as its backers claimed, why not let free enterprise take the risk and reap the profits?

Accountable, Those were the arguments as House leaders of both parties urged their followers to vote what amounts to another \$134 million to complete two SST prototypes, and thus to retain the possibility of salvaging something from the \$864 million in tax money already invested. Both the galleries and the floor of the House were packed-a rarity in that chamber-as the SST debate neared its close. The strong feeling on both sides was audible. A guttural murmuring of distaste swept the floor as Democratic Floor Leader Hale Boggs harangued the House in support of the aircraft and was caught fudging about previous House votes on the plane by its principal House opponent, Illinois Democrat Sidney Yates. "If you vote for the SST," shouted Republican Leader Gerald Ford, "you are insuring 13,000 jobs today plus 50,000 jobs in the second tier and 150,000

#### William Proxmire, the Giant Killer

PROPOSALS for Government funding of an American supersonic transport date back ten years-the same amount of time Senator William Proxmire has spent opposing it. From 1961 to 1969, Proxmire engaged in five losing campaigns against SST appropriations. He has filibustered and conducted hearings, hammering away in a personal crusade against the "perfectly trivial purpose of developing an SST, seeing how rapidly we can already fly people overseas," It was the kind of tenacity that has made Proxmire the bane of defense contractors, pork-barreling colleagues and consumer frauds.

He is a loner and a maverick who disdains the Senate "club" way of conducting business, and as a result, his effectiveness as a legislator has been uneven. Proxmire came to the Senate in 1957 af-

ter winning a special election to fill the seat vacated by Joseph McCarthy's death. His committee assignments included Banking and Currency, Post Office and Civil Service, which he used to help shape his reputation as one of the chief watchdogs of Government waste.

An early run-in with Senate tradition came in 1959 when he attacked Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson for his autocratic rule of the Senate. Proximire's popularity with insiders was further eroded by his penchant for paring fat Government work projects dear to the Senate's patronage heart.

Until the late '60s he was considered a scattershot Sen-

PROXMIRE

ator, but during the past several years, he has homed in on some major issues. In 1967 he pushed a truth-in-lending bill through the Senate that had languished for four terms. He uncovered the \$2 billion cost overrun on the C-5A and defense contractors' hiring of former high-ranking military officers. Finally, he is close to success in his fight against the SST.

His staff was treated to clear evidence of his delight with the House defeat of funds for the big plane: from inside his suite in the New Senate Office Building could be heard the voice of the usually tacitum Proxmire singing Bill from the old musical Show Boat. His office reflects his personal style—sparsely furnished, its green walls completely devoid

of pictures or decorations. The only homey touch is the hot plate used to make his breakfast at the office after his 4.8-mile run—not a jog—to the office and 200 push-ups. At 55, Proxmire is nearly as fit as he was as an undergraduate boxer and football player at Yale.

As the ST fight goes down to its final stage. Proxumies groundwork is largely done. Testimony of economists and environmentalists is already in, and the body of information he has developed against the plane over the years is well known to his colleagues. He does not wring votes from tellow Senators with deals and high-pressure promises, as imp battle for the final handful of votes: "It's going to be a goddam interesting week."

jobs each year over the next ten years."

Finally, Yates regained the floor. "I demand tellers with clerks," he said, setting in motion a new House procedure in which each member's vote on critical members with the said setting in which each with the said, setting in which each with the said set of the said set

Slowly, the members filed up the aisles to cast their votes, putting green ballots against the SST funding into a box beside Teller Yates, red votes to keep than conservatives. This year's House also contains 56 new members, and of these, 33 voted against the plane. The teller vote was not along party lines. Voting against the aircraft were 131 Democrats and 84 Republicans; for it were 114 Democrats and 90 Republicans.

While the House rejection of the SST While the House rejection of the SST While THE WHILL THE WHIL

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS

#### Of Mills, Textiles and Okinawa

Back in November 1969, President Nixon and Japan's Prime Minister Eisaku Sato agreed to move toward an agreement that would let Okinawa-occupied by the U.S. since 1945-revert to Japan in 1972. Nixon understood from Sato that in return the Japanese would formally consent to a limitation on the flow of synthetic textiles into the U.S. Nixon had promised in his presidential campaign to limit textile imports from Japan. so it seemed a good deal for the U.S. Moreover, Sato needed Okinawa to placate his anti-American opponents in the Diet, and the U.S. needed Sato as a solidly pro-American political leader in



BOEING MOCKUP OF SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT
The pivotal question: Who needs it?

the plane alive into a box supervised by a pro-SST teller, California Democrat John McFall. The green line looked long-er, and Yates, a normally gregarious man whose face was furrowed with fatigue from the long fight, broke into a grin. "Circum cards here," he shouted happity, was amounteed as 217 to 203 against the plane. In the mandatory final vote the funds were rejected 215 to 204 funds were rejected 215 to 204.

Center Stage. The new procedure was a major reason for the House turnabout. Many wavering Congressmen apparently were convinced that most of their constituents opposed the plane and posed more of a threat than the SST's lobbyists. The recorded voting also discouraged Representatives from staying away, which tends to strengthen the liberal forces, since liberals traditionally have been less conscientious about tending to the daily business of the Congress

one of the plane's scientific opponents: Dr. Gio Gori, of the National Cancer Institute who first agreed, but later refused, to testify about the potential effect of SST flights on skin cancer. Proxmire will be at center stage this

week when the Senate votes on whether to go along with the House in killing the aircraft. It voted no last year, and the latest House vote is a psychological lift for the plane's opponents, but there are new faces in the Senate too, and new pressures. So the fate of the SST is still in doubt. If the Senate votes to continue funds, some kind of compromise-now wholly unpredictable -would have to be worked out with the House. If the Senate continues its opposition, the Government would seem to be out of the supersonic-transport business, at least for a time. Then it would be up to the aerospace industry to show whether it really believes enough in the aircraft's future to gamble more of its own money on it-and to persuade private financial institutions to gamble as well.

Japan. But then the woof got warped. Because protectionism seemed good politics in a congressional election year, throughout 1970 the Administration, joined mainly by Southern textile magnates and their friends in Congress, pressed hard for a bill that would impose import quotas on textiles. House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills, Arkansan and free trader, feared that any such law would wind up as a Christmas-tree bill for protectionists eager to defend domestic prices for everything from hats to shoes. Official negotiations with the Japanese had ended, so early this year Mills began private bargaining-with the Administration's knowledge-that resulted in a unilateral Japanese agreement to limit textile shipments to the U.S. (TIME, March 22).

Letter of Intent. Mills was understandably pleased with himself, but his smile soon froze. Nixon has been exasperated by Democrat Mills' opposition to the Administration plan for sharing federal revenues with the states; he also

Out into effect this year, the procedure has been used only once before, on an amendment to a bill raising the national debt limit.

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resents Mills' undertaking personal diplomacy in the Japanese textile matter, though both Secretary of State William Rogers and National Security Assistant Henry Kissinger favored Mills' unorthodox solution. No good, said Nixon, who reportedly feels that the restrictions obtained by Mills do not proterior to the state of the away around Mills.

It turns out that two weeks ago-two days after Mills got his agreement from the Japanese-Secretary Rogers sent the Senate Foreign Relations Committee a "letter of intent," reporting that the President would soon submit a proposed treaty covering the reversion of Okinawa to Japan. The Japanese expected an executive agreement, which would not require any Senate action. Now reversion -like any treaty-will require a twothirds majority of the Senate, and there are enough textile-state Senators to make passage difficult unless the Sato government makes a binding bilateral agreement to cut down on textile shipments to the U.S. "We are not trying to sandbag the Japanese with this, White House staffer insists, Perhaps Nixon is only trying to sandbag Mills, but he may hit Sato as well. That could be dangerous. In the unlikely event that reversion of Okinawa collapses because Nixon has tied it to textiles, Sato could fall as a result. But there is still plenty of room for all sides to maneuver before any such crisis could come about.

#### THE SENATE Drifting Toward 1984

The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights ended its hearings into the extent of Government surviliance of citizens last week. The hearings produced no clear-cut plans for remedial legislation. They did, however, accomplish the aim of the subcommittee of the control of the c

Ervin has been plumping for an inquiry into the impact of Government data banks on individual rights since 1967, when he learned that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was using stored information to blacklist scientists for their political views. Two years later, he heard about the Secret Service's data bank, which houses information on 50,000 persons, including some who are described vague ly as "professional gate crashers" and some who "insist upon personally contacting high Government officials for the purpose of redress of imaginary grievances." Ervin figured he just might fit into the latter category.

Blanket Surveillance. Last year John O'Brien, a former Army intelligence agent, disclosed that the Army had spied on a number of U.S. politicians, including Illinois State Treasurer Adlai Stevenson III, now a U.S. Senator.

Ervin decided that the time had come for his subcommittee to act. In four weeks of hearings, he and his colleagues, including Liberal Democrats Ted Kennedy, Birch Bayh and John Tunney, heard 45 witnesses. Among them:

▶ Arthur R. Miller, a law professor at the University of Michigan, whose book Aisault on Privacy was just published, testified that some 20 federal agencies operate computerized information files or are planning to do so. "It is simply unrealistic," declared Miller, "to assume that the managers . . . will take it upon themselves to protect the public against misuse of the data in their custody."

▶ Former Army Intelligence Agent Ralph M. Stein said that the Army had collected personal data on a wide number of notable Americans, including the late Martin Luther King, the late Whitney Young, Singers Joan Baez and Arlo Guthrie, Georgia, State Representative to civil disturbances. After a public outcry, the Army's files on civilians were ordered destroyed last year, and the Government's intelligence headquarters was transferred to the Justice Department.

Assistant Attorney General William Rehnquist argued against legislation that might hinder the Government's ability to gather information about its citizens. It was "quite likely," he said, that "self-discipline on the part of the Executive Branch would provide an answer to virtually all legitimate complaints."

Machine: Above Low. Last week Rehaquist returned to the hearings and asserted that the Government has the asserted that the Government has the right to say on any citzen—including Senator Ervin—as long as the citizen is not forced to disclose information and the information is not used against him in court. The Senators understood that the Government needs to use computers and data banks for administrative pur-



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▶ Former Sergeant Laurence F. Lane, emphasizing how military intelligence organizations competed with one another, recalled that an antiwar protest outside Fort Carson, Colo., in 1969 attracted agents from the 5th Infantry Division, the 113th Military Intelligence Group, the Air Force and the Navy.

▶ Robert F. Froehlke, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Administration, disclosed that the Army had become seriously involved in surveillance of civilians after the Newark and Detroit riots in 1967. Following recommendations to Lyndon Johnson by Cyrus Vance, a former Deputy Defense Secretary, the Army formed a Civil Disturbance Committee to study the possible use of federal troops in major cities in the event of widespread insurrection. The intelligence operation grew quickly and haphazardly, investigating all sorts of persons-those who might contribute "directly or indirectly"

poses, including crime control. But they were distressed that Rehnquist seemed to think such a system should be allowed to grow unchecked. "There is not a syllable in the Constitution," Ervin snapped, "that gives the Federal Government the

right to spy on civilians. Another Administration witness, HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson, seemed to agree. He declared that the U.S. must develop the means of "controlling the potential for harm" inherent in the Government's surveillance activities. As the hearings ended, several subcommittee members favored legislation that would set strict rules for the Government's powers of surveillance. Senator Bayh announced that he intends to submit a bill that would allow citizens access to all Government files concerning themselves and would enable them to refute untrue or derogatory charges and limit dissemination of what the files contain, "Unless we take command of the new technolo-" said Ervin, "we may well discover some day that the machines stand above the laws.



The Mileage Specialist

#### The Man Who Had It Won

THE bristling mustache above a bonestiff upper lip. The wind-up doll gestures. The suave delivery of platitudes in a deep and resonant voice. Those came to symbolize a full decade of Republican Party frustration in the presidential politics of the 1940s. That is unfortunate, since Dewey was the prototype of all crusuding young gangthree-term Governor of New York in his 40s, and a premature but valued clefer statesman of his party as early as his 50s. Nevertheless, he will be rea seemingly certain election to the pres-

Dewey came back in 1944 as Governor of the most populous state to wrap up the presidential nomination on the first hallot. His impossible task was to challenge the Commander in Chief in jecting Franklin D. Roosevell would comfort the enemy. Dewey refrained from attacking F.D.R. on foreign policy but lashed out at the New Deal for 'bickering, quarreling and backbling by the ering, quarreling and backbling by the public office." He lost, but drew a surprising 46% of the popular voice for the proper-

Cunning Men. It took Dewey three ballots to regain the nomination in 1948 over Ohio's Robert Taft, Minnesota's



"We were all wrong together."

idency by his serenely sonnolent campaign against Harry Truman in 1948. Thomas Dewey had mellowed in his later years. Teased about the fact that his dark hair was finally beginning to thin. Harry that the strength of the strength of the completely shake his wasen image as "the bridgeroom on the wedding cake." He was still widely remembered that way when he died last week of a heart attack after playing 16 holtes of gold in favorite winter refuge. In another week he would have been 69.

Backkiring, Dewey reached vainly for the presidency three times. Near the end of a sensational career as a proscenting attorney in 1940, he sought in 1940, he Republican nomination. Dewey stumped the nation, headed mito the Philaded mote convention as the favorite. But no one convention as the favorite. But no one standard carefulder, and the party's old prose could not accept the brash, young 38. Eastern upstart. They turned instead to an older, more personable nowice: Indianal's Wendell Willike. Harold Stassen, Michigan's Arthur Vandenberg and California's Earl Warren and the nomination was considered tantamount to election. The nation seemed weary of the frenetic days of New Deal innovation and the burdens of war and postwar readjustment. Harry Truman was a feeble contrast to the fallen F.D.R., and the Democratic Party was split (Strom Thurmond had deserted to run as a right-wing candidate, Henry Wallace as a left-wing challenger). Voters yearned for tranquillity, and Dewey, running a campaign designed to avoid controversy, promptly put them to sleep. Soothingly, he pleaded: "We need a rudder to our ship of state, a firm hand at the tiller.'

Truman, by contrast, slugged viciously ("The Republican Party is controlled by silent and cunning men who have a dangerous lust for power and privilege") through 31,500 miles and 350 speeches, stubbornly predicting his own viciory. Gambiers made Le were so certain of the outcome that they stopped sampling as early as September. But Truman attracted large and noisy crowds ("Give 'em hell, Harry"). He won, mainly because of a revolt among Midwest farmers, who were angry at the Republican Congress and turned off by Dewey's cool gentility.

and turned off by Dewey's cool gentiffy.
When the results were announced,
Truman laughed gleefully, bouncing up
and down on a bed in a suite at Kansas
City's Muehlebach Hotel. Dewey gamely
faced astonished newsmen in Manhatan's Roosevelt Hotel and admitted: "I'm
just as surprised as you; we were all
wrong together—but it's been grand fun,
boys and girls, Good luck."

Effective Manager, As was true of another noted Republican before him. Herbert Hoover, history would have treated Dewey more kindly if he had never run for President. The son of an Owosso, Mich., newspaper publisher, Dewey was educated at the University of Michigan and Columbia University. After winning third place in a national contest as a college baritone, he studied voice in New York City, considered an operatic career (Critic Deems Taylor liked Dewey's voice but said he sang without "enough impulse"). Instead Dewey settled on law and swiftly achieved prominence. A skilled trial lawyer who could wither reluctant witnesses with scornful questions, he was appointed an assistant U.S. Attorney at the age of 29, heading a staff of 52 lawyers. His biggest catch: Rackets Boss Charles ("Lucky") Luciano.

Dewey went back into private practice, which by 1935 was netting him more than \$50,000 a year. He left that cory career to accept an appointment from Democratic Governor Herbert H. tack racketers. He badgered rucket to the control of the control

The young prosecutor carred national fame and soon challenged the man who had launched him, coming within 65,000 votes of unseating Governor Lehman. When Lehman did not seek reelection, 1942. In his three terms, he proved a superb administrator and an effective mape of the state's money, building up a \$600 million surplus, which he trunneled more to the state of the

Dewey never regained his top influence in the Republican Party after his second presidential defeat, though he helped persuade his party to nominate Dought Eisenhower in 1952 and urged idential race that same year after Nixon had come under attack for maintaining accrete political frond. As Presidenti, Nixon offered to appoint Dewey Chief Justice of the U.S. Dewey declined, saying that he was too old, but later confided to ament. I'm too much of a battler."

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#### THE WORLD

#### Laos: The Bloody Battle To Get Out

UST five weeks after they plunged confidently into the jungles of Laos, the best troops of South Viet Nam were engaged last week in a perilous and bloody battle to get out. Whether Operation Lam Son 719, as the Laotian invasion is officially called, could be judged a success or a setback was still a matter of considerable debate (see box next page). Beyond debate, however, was the fact that some units of the South Vietnamese army (ARVN) had been badly cut up in the fighting, and that North Viet Nam seemed ready and willing to sacrifice casualties by the thousands in order to deal the South a physical and psychological mauling.

That the ARVN withdrawal was not yet a rout was due very largely to U.S. airpower. Day after day, B-52s, F-4 Phantoms and F-100s, flying as many strike sorties for the Lam Son operation alone as they ordinarily stage in all of Indochina, kept the battlefield under incessant barrage. Giant B-52s, used like Phantom iets for close ground support, pursued North Vietnamese soldiers through jungle and elephant grass, dropping their 30,000-lb, bomb loads as close as 600 yards to allied positions. Everywhere ARVN soldiers went, they stumbled upon phalanxes of enemy bodies, or survivors walking about in a daze, talking of "death from the sky."

Going Nowhere. Still, the North Vietnamese pressed their attack on the ARVN troops-or at least some of them. The withdrawal from Laos was in fact divided into three fairly distinct parts, and Washington still maintained that it would not be completed until mid-April. According to the Pentagon, several thousand of the 20,000 South Vietnamese who went into Laos were sweeping southeastward toward home, hilltop hopping by helicopter and disrupting enemy supply routes. Some 10,000 more ARVN troops, whose armored column had been stalled for five weeks on Route 9, 15 miles inside Laos, began a slow creep back toward the border

The real battle—and the most precipitous retreat—involved the left let ARVN Division. They had been assigned to man fire bases named Sophia, Lolo. Liz and A Luoi, and Landing Zone Brown, all overlooking the involved force of the properties of the control doned after undergoing continued sheling and mussed attacks by the North Verlamanes: The ARVN troops destroyed the control of the control of the control and the control of the control of the control theory of the control of the control of the control and the control of th

Crowded Helicopters. One of the 1st Division's three regiments—the 3rd—returned with only 450 of its original 2,000 men still in fighting con-

dition. For those troops at least, the orderly retreat had become a rout. Choppers that ordinarily accommodate eight men carried 14, some clinging precariously to the helicopter skids. Several lost their holds in mid-air and fell to death; others seemed barely able to hobble, apparently suffering from their days of marching through Laos' jungled mountains. One unconscious soldier had one arm wrapped around a machinegun mount, while his comrades held him from inside the chopper; as the craft touched down, they let go, and he fell to the ground in a heap. A young U.S. adviser, watching from a Jeep. held the latest copy of Stars and Stripes. which carried the headline: ROGERS:

The loss of the fire bases stripped some of the protection from the armored column on Route 9-though 1.000 Ranger and Marine reinforcements were rushed into Laos to help defend the highway, and heavy artillery was moved up to the border to zero in on the Communists. With the other bases knocked out, the North Vietnamese could now presumably concentrate their men and artillery on preventing the ARVN column's orderly departure; if they can bring to bear on Route 9 the firepower they used to blast the fire bases and LZ Brown, a nasty defeat could be in the making. Once again,

LAOS DRIVE A SUCCESS. His comment:

"Sure, and here come the victors."

U.S. airpower could make the enemy pay heavily. But the North Vietnamese army, now on the offensive, has already demonstrated that it is willing to pay a higher price for victory than the retreating South Vietnamese.

#### Ordeal by Fire

As 2,000 battle-weary soldiers of soldiers of soldiers of vision were evacuated by helicopter from Laos last week, their comrades of the division's 4th Battalion, 1st Regiment remained behind to fight one of the fiercest battles of the war. Their story:

Fire Base Lolo, 22 miles inside Laos, came under attack almost as soon as it was set up by the 1st Regiment three weeks ago. Antiaircraft fire from North Vietnamese troops became so intense that U.S. helicopters were unable to bring in supplies or provide close air support. Lolo's commanding officer and his staff had to keep dashing from bunker to bunker so that Communist gunners could not zero in on their command post. The South Vietnamese were so busy ducking incoming rounds that at one point North Vietnamese wearing ARVN uniforms were able to set up machinegun positions within the base's perimeter.

uniforms were able to set up machinegun positions within the base's perimeter. After three days without supplies, the South Vietnamese defenders ran out of artillery shells altogether and found themselves critically short of small-arms



ammunition, food and water. Then, last week, came the order; destroy the artillery pieces and anything else that cannot be carried, leave the dead, and evacuate. The 4th Battalion was ordered to fight a rearguard action while the other three battalions of the 1st Regiment broke out of the encirclement. The 4th's ordeal began on the night the others pulled out. A North Vietnamese artillery round killed the battalion commander, the executive officer and several other senior officers

Enemy Loudspeakers. Somehow the battalion got organized and moved out. heading slowly northeast toward Route 9. By the end of the first day, only 100 of the original 500 men were left, and they were desperate. They had received no supplies for six days and had not slept for three-and they were surrounded by the enemy. The battalion's sole surviving officer radioed for an emergency resupply. but U.S. helicopters were once more kept away by heavy ground fire. North Vietnamese loudspeakers called through the darkness for the men of the 4th Battalion to surrender.

Few did, and by morning the beleaguered battalion-or what remained of it-had again managed to fight its way out of the enemy circle and call for help, "About all they've got left to fight with," said a U.S. adviser monitoring a radio across the border, "is machetes and bayonets." At noon, U.S. bombers began to blast a rescue landing zone out of the jungle.

Mission Accomplished. In mid-afternoon the first chopper, a Cobra gunship, swinging low to check the landing zone, came under heavy fire from the ground. It tried to roll out, but nosed into the jungle and exploded. The second, a Huey troop carrier, managed to land and evacuate 17 men. The third was hit by machine-gun fire and crashed. Two hours later, two more helicopters landed and rescued the downed chopper's crew and the last ARVN troops,

The 4th Battalion had accomplished its mission. But it had paid an appalling price. Of the 500 men who entered Laos, 32 came out aboard the rescue choppers. Of those, a third were



WOUNDED SOUTH VIETNAMESE

#### Was It Worth It?

N the blackboard-crisp terms favored by its Pentagon planners, the Laotian operation is deep into its third and final phase. Having slashed across some tendrils of the Ho Chi Minh Trail and

I AM SON TROOPS IN PETREAT

choppered into Tchepone, South Viet Nam's troops are beginning to pull back to the border. As the withdrawal gathered speed last week, the question was increasingly asked: Was it worth it? The

> answer will not be known in full until the operation is over, but it can be partly determined by comparing the ARVN struggle in Laos with

Spoiling the Communist infiltration routes was only one duty assigned to the ARVN troops sent into Laos. Another important, though unstated task was to draw much larger North Vietnamese forces into massing along the trail so that they could then be hammered by U.S. airpower. For obvious reasons, neither Washington nor Saigon has greatly stressed that a key feature of Lam Son was to use ARVN as bait in order to kill North Vietnamese troops.

The immediate purpose of Lam Son 719 never was to "protect" withdrawing U.S. troops, even though that has been the longer-range justification advanced most often by the Administration. From the start, Richard Nixon's own top advisers described Lam Son-and the parallel thrust by 20,000 ARVN troops into Cambodia-mainly as an opportunity to reap some short-term gains. One important objective was to shore up the embattled regime in Cambodia by taking further pressure off the Cambodian army to the south. Another was to blunt Communist capability to wage offensives in South Viet Nam, particularly any attack that might upset two approaching presidential elections: Nguyen Van Thieu's in October and Richard Nixon's in November 1972. However Lam Son comes out, the re-

sults-as with so much in Southeast Asia-are unlikely to be clear-cut and have fared in the battle so far:

BUYING TIME. According to the U.S. Command, more than ten of the 30 North Vietnamese battalions in the Laotian panhandle have been annihilated; the enemy is said to have lost 11,176 men. General Creighton Abrams has said that he does not think that the North Vietnamese can now mount a major offensive in 1971, and possibly not until the spring of 1972. That, unfortunately, is the kind of expectation the Communists have explosively upset in the past, notably during Tet 1968. Even if Lam Son has slowed the Communist supply effort, it has done so only temporarily. If South Vietnamese forces do stay in Laos until mid-April, the Communists will still have several weeks to recoup before the monsoon completely closes the trail. To win this temporary advantage, the allies have paid dearly, Though the U.S. toll has been relatively light-69 dead or missing, 64 wounded, 73 helicopters destroyed-South Vietnamese suffered considerable casualties. Saigon admits to 918 ARVN dead, but unofficial estimates put the

#### CHINA

Parrying a Policy

Richard Nixon's arrival in the White House was welcomed with particular warmth in Taipei. After all, the former Vice President was well known as a vigorous anti-Communist, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek naturally expected him to continue Washington's longstanding policy of isolating the Red government on China's mainland. Of late, however, the warmth has turned to deep dismay over the Nixon Administration's increasingly friendly gestures toward the mainland government.

Washington announced last November that it would no longer oppose seating Peking in the United Nations so long as Taiwan retained its seat as well. Nixon, in his "State of the World" message, went out of his way to make a deep verbal bow to the "750 million talented and energetic" citizens of the "People's Republic of China." Last week the State Department ended the restrictions that have effectively prevented travel to China by U.S. citizens for 20 years. (The gesture is mostly symbolic at present because Peking has shown no willingness to issue visas to U.S. travelers.) Before long the Administration is expected to make a more substantial effort to improve relations. Among the possibilities: an offer to pull down trade embargoes and even to extend full recognition.

Damaged Claim. So far, Washington's overtures have alienated the Republic of China in Taipei without noticeably mollifying the People's Republic in Peking. By moving toward a two-China policy, Washington offends both governments-since each claims to be the true representative of all Chinese people. The new, more realistic China policy espoused by Nixon is an obvious net gain for Peking. But the Chinese Communists are not about to respond to any attempt to improve relations so long as the war in Indochina continues. The U.S., in fact, has once again replaced Russia in Peking's lexicon as "the world's most vicious imperialist."

For their part, Chiang and his government are deeply disturbed by Nix-



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

toll closer to 2,000 crack troops dead or missing and another 4,000 wounded. Compared with Cambodia, Lam Son has so far yielded only one-fourth as many captured enemy weapons, onehalf as much ammunition, one-fifth as much rice and about the same number of enemy dead-at a cost of about seven times as many ARVN troops dead. VIETNAMIZATION. President Nixon recently quoted Abrams as saying that, in Laos, ARVN has proved it can "hack it." It is true that battles like last week's bloody struggles at Fire Base Lolo and Landing Zone Brown show that South Vietnamese troops can summon considerable courage, even when outnumbered 3 to 1 or more. Yet it is also clear that the key to ARVN survival in Laos has been the lavish use of U.S. airpower. For their part, senior South Vietnamese officers say that Laos has exposed some leadership problems even in crack ARVN units, and the lesson, they judge, is that Vietnamization has proceeded "too fast." Moreover, it may be six months or more before the seven first-rank ARVN Ranger, Marine and 1st Infantry battalions put out of action so far (another four battalions have endured moderate to heavy casualties)

MORALE. The drive into Laos has left South Viet Nam sullen, uneasy and distrustful of government casualty figures and claims of victory. Clearly concerned, the Thieu regime has launched a moraleboosting effort. Thieu has been telling newsmen that Saigon's troops "will feel 10 ft. tall" when it is all over; government radio stations broadcast newly pone Victory). But in a more accurate reflection of the popular mood, Saigon's

can be brought back to strength.

daily Tin Sang last week replied to Nixon's recent remark about the U.S.'s "last war." It editorialized: "For the Vietnamese people this is the last war-to last until the death of the last Vietnamese.' POLITICS. South Viet Nam's unhappiness over the operation may well hurt Thieu at the polls this fall. For Nixon, too, Laos may turn out to be a political liability. The divergence of Washington's optimistic assessments and on-the-scene reports have saddled the Administration with a credibility problem once again. Should Lam Son run into really serious trouble, Nixon would have a tough time justifying the decision to go into Laos. And, though China has not been drawn into the war, the Laotian incursion has, at the very least, done violence to the Administration's stated goal of a rapprochement with the Chinese.

In most capitals of Asia, where the long view prevails, Laos is regarded as a brief episode in a long, drawn-out struggle, in which the U.S. is, in the G.I. vernacular, "short" and getting shorter all the time. Over the past year or two, in fact, a new, calmer view of the whole Indochina war has spread through Asia, in part the result of a reassessment in the light of U.S. withdrawal. Many sophisticated Asians, including the leaders of some of the nations once regarded as dominoes, are now privately convinced that Hanoi will prevail, and have come to the conclusion that the outcome no longer greatly affects their fate.

When it is all over, the Lam Son affair may well appear of limited value at best, though filled with great hazards. Just how great the hazards were will not be clear until the rest of the South Vietnamese make their way out,

on's approach. A two-China policy damages the Chiang regime's vestigial claim to be the legitimate government of all China. Ever since the Nationalists arrived on Taiwan as refugees from the mainland in 1949, the regime's status as an embattled government in exile has served to justify its tight, autocratic rule of the island. The 2,000,000 mainlanders enjoy a number of political and economic perquisites, but the 12 million native Taiwanese have only token representation in the Taipei government. The change in U.S. policy thus may give a lift to the weak and diffuse Taiwan independence movement.

Talking Tough. For the moment, however, it is not the native Taiwanese but pro-Nationalist extremists who most threaten the serenity of Chiang's island fief. A bomb went off last October in a USIS library, and last month another smashed a Bank of America branch. The incidents remain unexplained, but just in case they presage more anti-U.S. explosions, American businessmen have begun to seal off auxiliary entrances to stores and factories and to hire extra guards.

In a bristling letter to the White House, 200 Taiwanese legislators last week warned Nixon that his policy was "unrealistic and fallacious." Taipei's semi-independent United Daily News, in an almost unheard of salvo at Chiang's Cabinet, blasted the Foreign Ministry for being "cowardly and insensitive" in making Taiwan's case in Washington. Last week mild-mannered Foreign Minister Wei Tao-ming, 72, a Paris-educated lawyer and wartime Ambassador to the U.S., abruptly decided to retire, citing reasons of health. The "Gimo, who is now 83, has also decided that the Nationalists should press their case via a diplomatic offensive aimed at every trade fair and VIP in sight. First guest, due in Taipei next month: Congolese President Joseph Mobutu.

In public, Taipei's leaders continue to rail against "appeasement." But in private a more realistic reassessment of Taiwan's future is under way. Some Taiwanese fret that anything so dramatic as walking out of the U.N. the moment Communist China comes in might cost the Chiang regime much of its good will in the U.S., and thus accelerate the trend toward U.S. accommodation with Peking. As one Nationalist official puts it, the great fear is that ultimately "a two-China policy might lead to a one-China policy. By that he meant a situation under which the U.S. would allow, if not openly sanction, a Peking takeover of

Though the U.S. has a freaty commitment to defend fawam, it is not generally recognized that for two decades Washington has officially regarded Taiwan's status as "uncettled," meaning that wan's status as "uncettled," meaning that by the pollitud hieror of Moo and Chiang themselves. Peking could eventually decide that, like Hong Kong, an autonomous Taiwam could be a useful portal to the world. With one of the strongest only survive but prosper even more by trading with its giant neighbor.

#### MIDDLE EAST

#### Strain Between Friends

If anyone ever had any doubts. Israel made it clear once again that it has no intention of returning all, or even most, of the Arab territory it seized in 1967. In fact, suggestions that it do so, particularly when they are from friends, only make the Israelis dig in deeper. Last week the Israelis were upset by a U.S. proposal that Israel give back almost all of the territory in return for security provided by an international peace-keeping force. Despite efforts on both sides to keep their disagreement at a low key, the episode clearly showed that Washington and Jerusalem are far apart on the territory question-and that the distance is putting a growing strain on U.S.-Israeli relations.

The argument was starkly defined when Secretary of State William Rogers reiterated an earlier proposal that peace-keeping forces be stationed along an Egypt-Israel truce line that would incorporate only "insubstantial" changes from Israel's 1967 borders. The proposed force would be under United Nations supervision and for the first time would include not only the troops of neutral nations like Ireland or India, but those of the U.S. and, in a surprising suggestion, of the Soviet Union as well. This, said Rogers, was the way to keep peace in the Middle East, "In modernday world situations, geography is not ordinarily important," he said. "What is important is the political arrangement that is made."

Two Formulas, Rogers' remarks struck sparks in Israel which is already sensitive over a suggestion by U.N. Secretary-General U Thant that it is being stubborn about peace negotiations in the face of a positive attitude on the part of Egypt. To be chastised by a friend like Rogers heightened the Israeli siege mentality. Premier Golda Meir, addressing a Labor Party Central Committee meeting, was so angry that she came close to diplomatic insult. "We cannot rely on Rogers' plan," she said, "even if he does make it in good faith." Other officials supported her with unanimity. "All the modern developments in military technology cannot negate the importance of geographically "not one inch." Mrs. Meir's party is more adaptable but insists on keeping Sharm el Sheikh, the Golan Heights and a protective presence on the West Bank. In an interview with the Times of London two weeks ago, Mrs. Meir said that she would gladly give up most of Sinai and nearly all of the West Bank in return for a peace treaty. The interview led to demands from Begin for a vote of confidence in the Knesset, Israel's Parliament. Mrs. Meir won the vote handily last week, but not before a dispute over voting procedures led to a half-hour demonstration during which Knesset members verbally assaulted one another and shook their fists across the aisles.

Before any territory is returned, Israel's government will probably call a national election to make certain of its mandate. Mrs. Meir last week threw



EBAN WITH ROGERS DURING VISIT TO WASHINGTON Willing to live in tenacious solitude.

defensible positions," argued Deputy Premier Yigal Allon.

Flying off to Washington, Foreign Minister Abba Eban pressed Israel's arguments in meetings with Rogers and White House Adviser Henry Kissinger. Israel, Eban said, could "think of no device" to protect itself except secure borders. Moreover, it must negotiate them in its own way. If the price of such negotiation was estrangement, said Eban, then "a nation must sometimes be willing to live in a state of tenacious solitude." At home, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan echoed Eban's determination. "We shall be left with two different formulas," he said, "an American one and an Israeli one, and the formulas will

Election Timing. Eventually, Israel will have to make a firm decision about exactly what territories to give back. The country's right-wingers, whose spokesman is Gahal Party Leader Menahem Begin, stand for a policy of

broad hints to Labor Party leaders that perhaps the time for elections is not far off, since the party is strong and might win enough Knesset seats to govern without a coalition for the first time in Israel's history. Realistically, the Israelis would probably time any election to the political situation in the U.S., hoping to form a new government -and face the decision of what territory to give up-at about the time the U.S. election campaign was warming up. That would be an inappropriate point for either Democrats or Republicans to pressure Israel on the question of occupied territories. Such a strategy, however, presupposes continued calm in the Middle East, and the likelihood of that is uncertain. When two Israeli Phantom jets crossed the Egyptian lines near Port Fuad last week, they were chased by MIGs and shot at by Egyptian antiaircraft guns-the first serious shots heard along the canal in eight months.



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Larry Rivers, "The Last Civil War Veteran" 1970, Mixed Media 84" x 123" x 42".



"The Last Civil War Veteran" by Larry Rivers.





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MOSCOW'S KALININ PROSPEKT WITH PLACARD CONCERNING THE 24TH CONGRESS OF SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY

# The Soviet Union: The Risks of Reform

WITH its modern marble façade and its sleek steel-and-glass lines, the Palace of Congresses seems out of place amidst the ponderous 15th century walls and onion-shaped domes of the Kremlin. In the palace's vast, streamlined auditorium Russia's rulers next week will stage one of the regime's most important political extravaganzas in some time-the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The Congress was to have been held in early 1970. It was delayed for a full year, indicating that the eleven-man Politburo, which constitutes Russia's collective leadership, has been locked in debate over some issues of major significance to the future direction of the world's second most powerful nation. The most important of these issues is bound to be whether and how the Soviet Union, in order to fulfill the rising expectations of its 242 million people, can reform its economy without risking unacceptable changes in its political system.

The vast majority of the 6,000 delegates who will file into the Palace of Congresses next week will have no say about how the problem will be resolved. But they will be given some clues-as will the rest of the world-about what the men in power may do. The Soviet delegates do not debate issues. They are elected to their posts only after careful screening and final Politburo assent. When a resolution is presented, they automatically approve it, for they know that the Politburo has already accepted it. Yet they perform a significant if largely ceremonial function. The rulers of a dictatorship need an apparatus that seems to confirm their legitimacy, a formal link to the party rank and file, and a sounding board, however limited, for their pronouncements. For the leadership, a Party Congress is an occasion to defend its record, assess the country's condition and chart the course ahead.

Congresses have frequently served as watersheds in Soviet history. At the Tenth Congress in 1921, Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy, which for a time allowed the peasants to sell their produce on a free market. At the 15th, six years later, Stalin consolidated his hold on power by purging Leon Trotsky from the party. At the 20th in 1956, Nikita Khrusshehev delivered the famed "secret speech" that started the wave of destalinization.

#### Politburo Gerontocracy

The 24th Congress may also find its way into history, for a number of farreaching problems are coming to a head at once:

▶ The economy, which according to Khrushchev's boast was to have surpassed the U.S. economy last year, may stand half a trillion dollars behind America's G.N.P. by the end of 1971. More important, the Soviet consumer wants more and better goods, and he is not get-

ting them.

▶ Political dissent, long forbidden in the Soviet Union, is being openly expressed not only by students and intellectuals but also by such pillars of the regime as scientists and even nuclear submariners.

The Soviet Union has scored some im-

pressive foreign policy successes, but they have entailed huge costs and new, perhaps dangerous responsibilities. Furthermore, in Eastern Europe it faces a potentially explosive situation.

Party Congresses also provide rare glimpses into the process of renewal within the leadership. As results of factional fights begin to appear, new faces emerge from the shadows, others fade. The present Soviet leadership changes at a glacial pace. But shifts do take place, and from a purely actuarial standpoint, the present Politburo is not an insurance man's dream. Eight of its eleven members are well into their 60s, making the body something of a gerontocracy (average age: 65).

Party General Socrétary Leonid Brezhnev is going into the Congress stronger than ever. A year ago, when his leadership was under attack because of grave shortcomings in the economy, power with the help of the Koß (secret police) and Marshal Andrei Greekho. Description of the policy of the power with the help of the Koß (secret police) and Marshal Andrei Greekho. The Defense Minister, As a sign of Brezhnev's ascendancy, his was the only signature to appear on the draft of the the first time such a document was signed by a single person since 1952 —when the sole signature was Joseph Stalin's, Still. Brezhnev is 64, over-

weight, and has had one heart attack. The Soviet Union has no machinery to ensure a smooth succession. Theoretically, of course, any member of the Politburo can be voted out of office by the Central Committee, but for that to happen would require a major upheaval. Nor can anyone predict with certainty who will emerge as the next party boss-or when. Perhaps it will be a now faceless regional bureaucrat or young technocrat whose name today is unfamiliar in the West. More likely, it will be someone who is not yet in his 60s but is already positioned in the upper reaches of the power structure. There are four Soviet politicians who fit this description particularly well. Three are the youngest members of the Politburo; the fourth is a rising newcomer who may well be given an alternate Politburo seat during the present Congress. The four:

KIRILL MAZUROV, 54, a First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, is a tough and



COIFFURE COMPETITION AT MOSCOW HAIRDRESSER'S Bitter jokes about a promise unfulfilled.

wily political infighter. Born in Byelorussia, he received a technical education and, during World War II, fought with guerrillas behind German lines. In the postwar period, he began a rapid rise through provincial Byelorussia's bureaucracy that led to his election to the Politburo. In March 1970, he reportedly joined fellow Politburo Members Mikhail Suslov and Aleksandr Shelepin in criticizing Brezhnev for his handling of the economy. As a result, Brezhnev would probably be happy to see him removed from the Politburo. But Mazurov seems likely to retain his position, largely because he has too much support within the party hierarchy for Brezhnev to re-

DMITRY POLIANSKY, 53, is Communism's true child-he was born Nov. 7, 1917. the day of the revolution. He is also the most polished and urbane of the four contenders, and one who can chat easily with Westerners. On a visit to New York City in 1960, he delighted American dinner companions by saying, "We think the socialist horse is younger and faster than the capitalist horse. If you disagree with that, it's your business, but let's not fight about it. Even at horse races, nobody proposes to determine the winner by a fight between jockeys." Poliansky comes from the Ukraine, where he was educated as an

agricultural specialist. His skill as an agricultural troubleshooter in the Crimea and the Urals attracted Khrushchev. He joined the Politburo in 1960 and managed to survive Khrushchev's fall. becoming a First Deputy Premier (along with Mazurov) in 1965. Poliansky, who supervises government agricultural policy, was reported to be a leading candidate for the premiership last summer when Aleksei Kosygin, ailing with liver trouble, wanted to resign but was urged to stay on. Poliansky's obvious ambition and his success in greatly increasing allocations for agriculture have made him some powerful Central Committee enemies, who blocked his ascension. ALEKSANDR SHELEPIN, 52, is the most in-

triguing-and perhaps the most ominous -of the four. His name is very close to the archaic Russian word for long lash. He went into Komsomol work, made an early reputation for ferreting out "traitors" during Stalin's great purge, and ultimately rose to become boss of the Soviet vouth organization. At 40, Shelepin was appointed by Khrushehev to head the dreaded KGB. But he apparently took his duties too seriously. One day he called in Nikita's rambunctious son-in-law, Izvestia Editor Aleksei Adzhubei, and dressed him down for heavy drinking and womanizing. That soured Nikita on Shelepin,

who then began plotting against his former mentor. After Nikita's ouster, Shelepin was rewarded with full Politburo membership and several key party jobs. Gradually, Brezhnev has whittled away his power, leaving him only the leadership of the trade unions. But Shewill have been been been been been also will be the cannot be discounted as a contender even if he is less powerful than before.

KONSTANTIN KATUSHEV, 43, is one of the first of the truly post-Stalinist politicians to emerge on the national Soviet scene. He is one of only twelve members in their 40s on the 195-member Central Committee, and he is expected to be elected an alternate Politburo member at the Congress. His main liability may well be his close identification with Brezhnev, who has furthered Katushev's rise. Born in Gorky, he was educated as a metallurgical engineer and went to work in the auto-and-tank works there. In 1961 he switched over to fulltime party work and rose to regional party director in Gorky before Brezhnev selected him in 1968 to come to Moscow as Central Committee secretary for relations with other ruling Communist parties. In that role, Katushev was instrumental in putting down Alexander Dubček's "Springtime of Freedom" in Prague and overseeing the "normaliza-tion" of Czechoslovakia. Katushev is not brusque and bullying, like Brezhnev, but persistent and demanding. "He is a tough negotiator with a steel-trap mind," reports a Rumanian diplomat who has dealt with him.

#### The Company Way

Unless the Kremlin roulette wheel takes an unexpectedly fast turn, the other Polithuro members are already too old to be serious contenders for the polithuro serious contenders for the polithuro, and members most likely form different alliances on different issues. Even so, Brezhnev's main supporters appear to be Andret Kimins uporters appear to be Andret Kimins progress appear to be Andret Kimins Party Boss Pyotr Shelest, 62, an ultra-hard-liner, and possibly Gen-



TOWNSPEOPLE ADMIRING CAR IN SUZDAL











MAZIIROV

POLIANSKY

KATUSHEV & KOSYGIN

SHELEPIN

nady Voronov, 60. Premier of the Russian Federation. Avid Pelshe, 72. the Latvian party leader, and Ideologue Mikhali Suslov, 68. are both alting and might possibly be replaced at the present Congress. Soviet President Niklolai Podgorny, 68, will probably stay on. So too will Kosygin, 67, whose support comes mainly from the government.

In addition to alignments within the Polithuro, each member also has support among special constituencies within the Central Committee. When the Polithuro cannot resolve a dispute, the Central Committee is convened to debate and decide the issue. The leaders, in turn, attempt to pack the Central Committee with their supporters.

As far as those young enough to be considered serious contenders for leadership are concerned, no one can predict exactly how they would behave once the power was finally in the chands. Alexander Dubček, for example, had no reputation for liberalism before ing and temperament, Mazurov, Shelepin and the others appear no more inventive or flexible than Brezhnev.

#### Hack v. Technocrat

Much the same applies to the next layer of Soviet leaders—the 150 or so party first secretaries of the rections and republics. More than half of them have no direct experience whatsoever in managing economic enterprises. They generally have spent most of their lives in wearing the second of their lives in wearing of the promotion of the second of the proposition of the proposition of the most offen to the will and tough, not to the thoughtful or the innovative.

The most recent newcomers to the group, however, include individuals who have had lengthy service as industrial administrators. The younger men are administrators. The younger men are lege degrees in specialized fields. Harvard Kremlinologist Leon Smolinski neatly distinguishes the older party hacks from the young technocrats by referring to the rivalry between "the promiser processionals."

Professional or not, whoever succeeds Brezhnev as the Soviet Union's first among equals may find himself confronting some of the problems that will

preoccupy the present Congress. Open dissent, a new phenomenon in the Soviet Union, is one of them. It involves only a relatively tiny number of people, leaving the vast majority of Soviet citizens untouched, but the identity of the protesters is significant. They include not only famed artists like Nobel Prizewinning Novelist Alexander Solzhenitsvn and Cellist Mstislav Rostropovich but also scientists such as Andrei Sakharov, father of the Soviet H-bomb, Physicist Pvotr Kapitsa and Geneticist Zhores Medvedev. A mimeographed bimonthly chronicle of dissident events circulates among thousands, perhaps tens of thousands.

In the past, any vestige of dissent was ruthlessly rooted out. But the present

regime has chosen to invoke only selective terror against its critics. Some have been jailed or incarcerated in menlation of the continue of the continue free. Last week, for example, Sakharov sent a telegram to the Soviet Minister of the Interior in protest against the handling of two Soviet dissenters who are being subjected to drug treatment them of their political abnormalities.

The ubiquitous KGB could undoubtedly arrest all the key members of the protest movement in one sweep. Why don't they? One explanation may be that the regime does not wish to offend the scientific community, whose members ensure a flow of sophisticated weapness. Another explanation may be that the leaders have learned that large and amount of internal dissent without coming apart at the seams.

The regime seems to be following

The regime seems to be thousand Russia's hat line of reasoning toward Russia's have applied for exit visus to Israel, have applied for exit visus to Israel, since the Soviet Union denies its clitzens the right to emigrate, the assumption has been that the Kremlin could not sanction a Jewish exodus without arousing other disastisfied minority nationalities. Nonetheless, rather than openly crush the Jews and incur had pub-



BREZHNEV & EX-POLISH PREMIER GOMULKA Successful members of an ambitious mediocracy.

licity abroad, the Soviets apparently have decided to take the risk. From a mere handful, the number of Jews allowed to leave Russia has now grown to 25 a day.

#### Decline of Ideology

Even as repression has become more muted in the Soviet Union, social and economic forces are at work in the society to temper ideological particibine is still evident, as is a certain loyalty to the ideal of Communism. Still, mass education, one of the system's most under the contraction of the system's most leader achievements, has created legitude to the contraction of the system's most leader achievements, has created legitude to the contraction of the system's most leader to the contraction of the system's most leader to the contraction of the system's contraction of the system's

show a surprisingly low degree of ideological fervor among the educated young. When 2,204 graduate students in Leningard were asked "What are your desires for the near future?", 60,6% while only 18.4% chose the good Controlled to the control of the control of the while only 18.4% chose the good controlled to the control of the controlled to the controlled to the control of the controlled to about the philosophy of Communism.

If such statistics from the home front are discouraging to Russia's old-school Communists, they can take comfort from the Brezhnev-Kosvgin record in foreign affairs. The Soviets have extended and consolidated their position in the oilrich Middle East. They have signed a treaty with West Germany that, in effect, recognizes East Europe's Sovietdrawn borders and tacitly pays homage to Soviet hegemony in the eastern half of the Continent, Soviet military power has increased so dramatically that the Soviet fleet now rivals, and in some areas has practically neutralized, the U.S. Navy. The huge Soviet ICBM buildup has enabled the Russians to reach approximate parity with the U.S. and thus negotiate as equals in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, which last week began the fourth round in Vienna.

Even so, the Soviet Union's attitude toward the U.S. and toward its own responsibilities as a superpower is still ambivalent. Although Moscow has not responded to Secretary of State Rogers' extraordinary proposal for a joint U.S.-Soviet peace-keeping force in the Middle East, the Russians have at times talked and acted as if they wanted the two superpowers to join in keeping order. At the same time, Moscow has pushed its influence against the U.S. wherever the opportunity arose, and professes to be highly suspicious of the Nixon Administration on the ground that it is trying to renew the Cold War.

Many U.S. officials reciprocate the suspicion because of what they describe as "trilogy" of events in the past year:

1) The Soviets sent not only missiles but also crewmen to Egypt's aid along the Suez Canal; 2) they gave at least tacit permission for a Soviet-equipped Syrian armored column to invade Jordan during King Hussein's showdown with the Palestinian guerrillas; and 3) they covertly tried to set up a nuclear sub base at Cienfuegos, Cuba. Still, in his last "State of the World" address, President Nixon made the most positive statement of the evolving attitude toward Russia by acknowledging its status as a global power with legitimate interests in many parts of the world.\*

Despite the successful 1968 suppression of Czechoslovakia, Eastern Europe remains potentially explosive, as the De-

One instance where Soviet foreign policy may have been pursuing a less legitimate in terest came to light last week. The Mexican government, after 29 years of relatively friendly relations with Moscow, angrily declared five top-ranking diplomats personae non gratae, and recalled its own ambassador from Moscow. Unofficially, the Mexicans charged the S viet Union with complicity in the case of 50 young firebrands who received guerrilla training in North Korea after visiting Moscow Twenty of the youths were arrested last week on a wide range of charges including conracy to overthrow the Mexican government. The gaffe would seem particularly embarrassing since the Soviets have consistently sought to present a moderate image in Latin America, and even disapproved of the guerrilla tactics cember riots in Poland demonstrated (see page 36). A new exchange of denunciations between Peking and Moscow last week indicated that the Sino-Soviet schism remains as gaping as ever. Furthermore, Brezhnev may be having second thoughts about the wisdom of seeking a détente with West Germany (except on conditions that Bonn cannot accept); possibly Moscow does not really want to give up West Germany as a convenient propaganda whipping boy. Significantly, the Soviets toned down their calls for a Conference on European Security that would approve present borders and set up a framework for cooperation between European nations, East and West. The Soviet lack of enthusiasm may reflect a realization in the Kremlin that the Communist countries are still not secure enough domestically to afford easier exchanges with the prosperous and magnetic West.

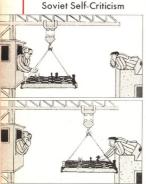
#### The Metal Eaters

Whatever the regime's record abroad may be, however, the fact is that Soviet leaders do not rise and fall on foreign policy issues but on the economy. The present leadership has done fairly well-but not well enough. Soviet agriculture, which employs about 26% of the work force v. less than 2% in the U.S., has picked up considerably and the Soviets have not had to buy wheat abroad for two years; but there are still shortages of meat, fruit and fresh vegetables. Industry is lagging badly. Technological advance is falling even farther behind the West. The consumer remains ill cared for

For the first time in history, the new Soviet five-year plan, which will be approved at the present Congress, assigns a fractionally higher growth rate to the consumer-oriented industries than to the "metal eaters" of heavy industry. Even so, the metal eaters will continue to receive the great bulk of Soviet industrial investment. The new plan also envisages great advances in worker productivity, increased use of computers, and the application of modern mana-

gerial methods.

Trouble is, the plan fails to cope with the fundamental problems. The Soviet economy does not need minor rejiggering or slight changes in emphasis, but a complete overhaul. To be sure. Communism scored great accomplishments in turning backward Russia into a major industrial power in half a century, with a G.N.P. approaching \$600 billion. But the development has been uneven. The Soviet command-style economy, with its rigid planning, central controls and bias against experimentation, simply no longer works effectively. Specialization demands decentralization. No single, central planning agency can fine-tune a diversified modern economy. The industrialized world has passed into a new and more mature technological stage in which, as Wayne State Professor Richard Burks puts it, "Economic growth will depend



Loafing: "Fast game of chess."



Pilfering: "Didn't you know that long skirts are in fashion



Shoddy workmanship: "Dear newlyweds, here are the keys to your new apartment.

# Cricket. (Chirp, Chirp)

## All-new from Plymouth. The little car that can. \$1915."



This is the sharpest, longest



# -lasting razor blade made.



# Why Tungsten Steel makes a better razor blade.

A razor blade can only be as good as the metal it's made of. A harder metal can hold a sharper edge. That's why Personna began experimenting with Tungsten Steel. A metal known for its toughness, its ability to hold a sharp cutting edge.

### Tungsten Steel: developed exclusively for Personna.

Few people knew enough about the complex technology of Tungsten Steel to make a razor blade out of it. So Personna went all the way to Sweden to work with precision steel experts. There we spent three years developing and perfecting the Tungsten Steel blade exclusively for Personna.

#### Tungsten vs. Platinum.

Platinum is a soft metal. Great for fine jewelry because it's easy to mold and work with. But Personna wanted a harder metal, because a harder metal holds a shaper cutting doge. Tungster has the is one of the hardest metals known to man. That's why it's used in high-speed cutting tools and fine cutlery—even for cutting diamonds. No metal holds a shapper cdge than Tungsten Steel.

### More than just a coating; more than just a "plus!"

Today, most razor blades are coated with a metal film to add strength to the blade edge. In fact, Personna 74 is coated with Titanium. But the new Personna 74 is more than just a coating. It's made from a new blade steel—Tungsten Steel. So the toughness is built right into the blade. That's why Personna 74 stays sharper. Longer.

#### The sharpest, longest-lasting razor blade made.

Perfecting this Tungsten Steel razor blade, which fits all double-edge razors, wasn't easy. But the results have been amazing. Test after test has shown that this new blade is the sharpest, longestlasting razor blade made. No other razor blade can make that claim! And no other razor

make that claim! And no other razor blade can give you a more comfortable shave than the Personna 74\*!

Tungsten-tough, to smooth out your shave.



Person INJECTOR TUNGSIENS

DOUBLE-EDGE

INJECTOR

TE-EDGE II

# Two things tell you much about aman...

# One is his scotch.

Forgive the Scots if they talk a bit too reverently of their scotch. But it is their life and love. And they do have a point.

Let's face it, you should be proud of the label...on the bottle...of the scotch...

on your bar.

And Pipers never forgets that.
Pipers is finer Pipers tastes better.
Pipers is the scotch you can ask for proudly,
enjoy proudly, serve proudly.
Thank you, Scots.



It's made proudly.

Drink it that way.



on releasing the creative energies of an ever more numerous intelligentsia, and on the granting of wide-ranging autonomy to enterprises functioning in a market situation."

In this new stage, individual creativity and enterprise are essential. Yet Moscow, with its insistence on orthodoxy and conformity, rewards the sort of behavior that is needed least in a society challenged by rapid changes. Cross-fertilization of ideas is essential, for example, yet Soviet industry and science are so cut off from each other that there is little interchange. Industries actually resist the inroads of scientists -with the exception of military and space industries-so that only 30% to 50% of all new techniques developed by scientists are actually put into timely use in Soviet factories. As a result, the Soviets are falling ever farther behind the West in the technologies most essential to future growth-computers, automation, petrochemicals and telecommunications. Nor are Western firms overly eager to rush to Russia's assistance. Fiat's auto plant at Togliatti opened two years late and is still convulsed by bureaucratic and labor difficulties. Stuttgart's Daimler-Benz has backed away from a Soviet invitation to build the world's largest truck factory south of Moscow.

As undermotivated as they are underproductive, workers loaf on the job, pilfer the factory's stocks or get too drunk to show up. At present, a Soviet worker produces only half as much as his U.S. counterpart and a Russian farmer one-fifth as much. Shoddy work habits are a regular target for the acerbic cartoonists of Krokodil, the Soviet humor magazine. The workers, in turn, joke bitterly about Communism's unfulfilled promise. What is the difference between an American and a Russian fairy story? goes one joke. The American story begins, "Once upon a time there was . . ." The Russian one starts, "Some day there will be . . .

#### Facing a Choice

Will "some day" ever become today for the Russian consumer? Not unless the regime decides that it must accommodate to change—which would mean yielding some of its incredibly far-reaching power. At present, the central planners in Moscow set prices for no. They still all the planners in the control planners in the control planners in the planners in the control planners. They still all the planners in the planners in the control planners in the planners in th

In the early 1960s, Kharkov University Professor Yeves Liberman argued that profit, not production quotas, should be considered the key index of efficiency and that a degree of local mangerial autonomy should be permitted. For a brief period, Brezhnev & Co, went along with his ideas. As British Sovietologist Leonard Schapiro notes, "Communist regimes are always willing to yield to economic reform if it will stop the people from demanding politications."



FARMERS PASSING MOSCOW HOUSING PROJECTS ON WAY TO MARKET

ical reform. (But] you can't reform an economic system without reforming it politically as well." Brezhnev soon concluded that Libermanism might ultimately lead to liberalism, or something equally loathsome, and the reforms lost all momentum. Liberman has since argued against the "exaggeration" of the importance of profils.

#### Waiting in Line

Mrs. Cosmonaut must first wait outside the store to see whether meat is
being delivered that day. Once inside,
she must wait on one line to find out
to pay for the meat and a third to pick
it up. Nor can Mrs. Cosmonaut complete her shopping at one or two places,
since food shops are specialized. Pranda recently complained that "a consume.

Seelling only noodles or bay leaves."

Mrs. Comonaut will feel even wors served when she tries to find a bra, an enameled teapot of a new coat. Soviet-made clothing is ill-filting, porly made, and fashioned from generally inferior fabric. There is absortage of meat grinders because the planners cut back outure to the state of the comparison of the compari

Despite such shortcomings, however, the Soviet consumer has never had it so good. Food shops arrange supplies,



BATHERS AT BEACH NEAR LENINGRAD
Starting a familiar spiral.

while they last, in neat, tempting pyramids. New Soviet shopping centers such as the showplace stores along Moscow's Kalinin Prospekt are virtually indistinguishable in appearance from shops in West Berlin or Amsterdam.

#### Flea-Market Ethics

Such improvements have only set off the spiral already familiar in the West —of rising expectations. The Soviet consumer is finally beginning to demonstrate summer to the spiral properties of the

Outside the official economy is a second, or countereconomy, which functions informally and in the best capitalist tradition. Collective farmers from convertible the convertible of the

market in Western clothing, supplying trendy and kinky threads to modish Russians. Cost of a pair of white jeans: \$30. Some items come right off the backs of tourists; they risk arrest for selling a shirt or sports coat to an importunate chap who later turns out to

be a KGR man

Much of the merchandise in the counterconomy is stolen from factories and restaurants by employees and sold at high markups. The fiser thrives in the counterconomy, acting as an entrepregation of the counterconomy acting as an entrepreent part of the counterconomy acting as an entrepreent good. Officials frown on the counterconomy but are at a loss to do anything about it. As one party paper complained. Why is it that in our stricttrudes the ethics of the flee market?"

#### The Roots of Alienation

Five years ago, Soviet Philosopher Mark Mitin incurred official wrath for daring to suggest that even a good Communist could grow alienated if life were too dreary; this could be overcome, said Mitin, by an abundance of consumer goods. Recently, Moscow's Literary Gazette, one of the leading So viet exponents of consumerism, reported that Mitin has been supported by psychological studies. "Research proved that shortages of needed goods have a negative effect on human feelings and can become an 'antistimulus' in labor activity," said the Gazette. "Even a nagging thought in a man's mind about wanting something that is not available may affect the productivity of labor and put the man's emotions out of balance." As another writer put it in the Ga-"The truth, as round as a button, is that frontiers of ideological struggle sometimes go along the seams of jackets and coats and that a pair of well-tailored trousers may conquer

Fat or even well-tailored Communists are not necessarily friendly Communists. It can be argued that if the Soviet Union were more successful at solving its economic problems, it might, at least in the short term, be even more aggressive in extending its presence throughout the world. In any event, as long as Brezhnev or men much like him rule the Soviet Union, it is too much to hope that there will be a significant revision of Soviet priorities. No matter what the speakers may say at the Palace of Congresses this week, defense will continue to enjoy precedence over consumerism for some time to come, and there will be no sudden relaxation of bureaucratic and ideological rigidity in favor of economic pragmatism. About the most that the outside world can reasonably hope for is that some day, if a new generation of leaders does create a more smoothly functioning economy, the result will be Communists who are more contented than contentious.

#### East Europe: The Restless Empire

NO one outside Russia will follow the proceedings of the Soviet Community of the proceedings of the Soviet Community of the Proceedings of the Soviet Community of the Proceedings of th

Just as the East Europeans are looking to Moscow, the Soviet leaders are

UNDERPASS AT EAST BERLIN'S ALEXANDERPLATZ

Defying the generally accepted thesis.

watching Eastern Europe, Though a quarter of a century has passed since the victorious Soviet army brought Eastern Europe under Moscow's hegemony, the area is still relatively unstable and potentially explosive. For that reason, 33 Russian divisions, a total of 396,000 combat-ready men, remain. With the exception of Yugoslavia, which is outside the Soviet orbit, it is doubtful whether any East European regime could survive genuinely free elections. This is not to say that the people of the region necessarily reject the concept of a very active form of socialism. With universal education, free medical care and job security, the lot of most people has undeniably improved, and they can no longer conceive of living in a society that fails to guarantee such fundamentals. Before World War II, indoor plumbing, electrification, radios, television sets, autos, motorcycles and even bicycles were beyond the average East European. Now they are at least within reach. Workers and their families enjoy cheap vacations. Still, as in Russia, Eastern Europe seems dominated by the yearning for a better life, for more material goods and comforts.

There is little economic ferment in two of the East European nations aligned with the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Pact. Bulgaria, which regards Russia as the Slavie big brother, remains totally faithful to the Soviet model. Under Reformer Alexander Dubček, Czechosłowakia attempted to embark on a darange conomic experiment before the Moscow-directed invasion smuffed out

Prague's "Springtime of Free-" Today Czechoslovakia, which is occupied by seven Soviet divisions, is comatose, fearful of attempting any departure from economic or political orthodoxy. Resentment of Moscow runs high. When Noel Coward's Blithe Spirit appeared in Prague, audiences applauded wildly whenever the character Ruth asked: "Do you mean to tell me that she is liable to stay here indefinitely?" The situation in Rumania is more ambiguous. -Party Chief Nicolae Ceaușescu, for all his independence in foreign policy, runs a relatively tight domestic dictatorship. His economic policy seeks expanded relations with Western firms. He has introduced some dynamism into Rumania's internal economic development and relies heavily on economic and technical experts for advice. For Moscow's three other East European allies, the situation is far more

POLAND: In December and January, the country was rocked by the first successful consumer revolt in Communist history.

There have been periodic upheavals throughout the East bloc: East Germany in 1953, Poland and Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968. Until Poland's most recent revolt, all such disorders were crushed. But the Polish workers prevailed, and in swift response to public opinion, a Communist regime yielded to the demands of its people. Wladyslaw Gomulka, Poland's longtime party boss, was bounced from office. His successor, Edward Gierek, increased minimum wages, sacked scores of tradeunion and party officials, and ultimately rescinded the price hikes that had touched off the rioting. Now the country is tense but quiet, as Gierek attempts to consolidate his position and cope with an appalling economic mess caused by years of overconcentration on heavy industry, overcentralization and postponement of reforms. So



#### The oldest reason in the world for buying a new one.

Meet Jim Freim, age 25. And his automobile, age 23. Now there's nothing unusual about a nice human being being 25.

nice human being being 25.

But you have to admit it's a bit unusual when a car is still running around at

the ripe old age of 23.

You see, in this age of "New, Now, Wow" automobiles, we spend very little time making our little car look better.

(Obviously.)
But we do spend a great deal of time

Each and every one of the 5,115 parts in the Volkswagen has been improved and improved again since Jim's bug made its first journey back in 49.

We, of course, mentioned this to him and suggested that maybe after 23 years, it was time he traded his old

> "Don't call me, I'll call you," he said.

far, he has won support among both intellectuals and workers for his deft handling of the crisis. But complaints are beginning to surface that he is not moving fast enough.

As in other East European countries. alcoholism, suicide and divorce rates are rapidly increasing. Each morning, according to the government's own figuring, 500,000 Poles are too hung over to report to work. Even ordinary goods like buttons are often in short supply. and fresh fruits and meat are scarce. Undoubtedly, Gierek would like to give the Polish consumer a better break. But he faces a terrible dilemma. Productivity among Polish workers is low. Inefficiency in the economy is staggering. Not surprisingly, a favorite Polish maxim goes: "We pretend to work and the state pretends to pay us." To solve the economic crisis, Gierek needs to take draconian measures to increase productivity and cut featherbedding and waste. But the workers, who are now conscious of their power, would resist.

He also has very limited political maneuver room. Gomulka's conservative allies have already denounced Gierek as a "rightist deviationist," a phrase that was applied to Dubček in Czechoslovakia. If Gierek fails to satisfy the workers' long-term demands, new rioting

could trigger Soviet intervention-but unlike the Czechoslovaks, the intensely nationalistic Poles would fight. The basic grievances that prompted Poland's laborers to challenge armed police and to put some party headquarters to the torch are shared by workers through the East bloc. Most East European leaders favor certain economic reforms to forestall the sort of unrest that exploded in Gdansk and Szczecin last December. But like Russia's rulers, they fear that any significant loosening of central economic control could lead to demands for political changes.

EAST GERMANY: For the past seven years, Walter Ulbricht's fiefdom has been the East bloc's star performer, running up statistics that many capitalist countries would envy. From 1966 to 1970, foreign trade increased 60%; industrial output rose 37%, making East Germany the ninth greatest industrial power; and the national income gained 29% to reach \$29.5 billion. The East German regime is all the more proud of this achievement because it was accomplished without granting an ounce more political freedom to the people, defying the generally accepted thesis that economic reform inevitably reduces political control. The East Germans, of

course, may well be a special case because they are an exceptionally disciplined and apolitical people, who have spent the past 38 years under one form or another of totalitarian rule.

In essence, the East German reform has consisted of regrouping factories into large combines, which have been largely freed from strict central planning. Managers are given bonuses for increased productivity. The historical Communist stress on quantity of output has been changed to quality, and in some instances the most modern forms of computer control and systems analysis have been instituted. The Soviets have been so impressed with the East German model that they have sent experts to study it and have invited East Germans to the Soviet Union as instructors. But the Soviets may soon have to look elsewhere. During the past nine months, the East German economy has slowed down, and 1971 goals have been reduced. The main reason is that the leaders feared the political implications of further reform and began to recentralize.

The East German regime keeps the best products out of East German consumers' hands; quality items are strictly for export to the West, second-rate stuff for "fraternal allies," third-rate goods for home consumption. Even though the East Germans are Communism's most efficient workers, they produce only 50% as well as their West German brothers. While take-home wages average about \$142 a month, a nylon shirt in East Germany costs \$20, a pair of men's quality shoes, \$40.

HUNGARY: Under the New Economic Mechanism, launched in 1968 by Party Chief János Kádár, Hungarians have encouraged personal initiative and allowed many prices to find their own levels in relatively free markets. The result is easily the most stimulating atmosphere of any East-bloc country. But even Hun-gary is demoralized by the housing shortage that plagues all of Eastern Europe: 47% of the Hungarian population is crammed into one-room dwellings. Still. executive suites in Hungary hum with excitement as managers pore over computer print-outs, circling moneymaking products in green, average earners in yellow, and losers in red. Collective farms operate small handcraft industries. Budapest's fashionable Váci Utca, now closed to auto traffic, is packed with shoppers who stroll past well-stocked jewelry shops, delicatessens, bookstores and up-to-the-minute boutiques.

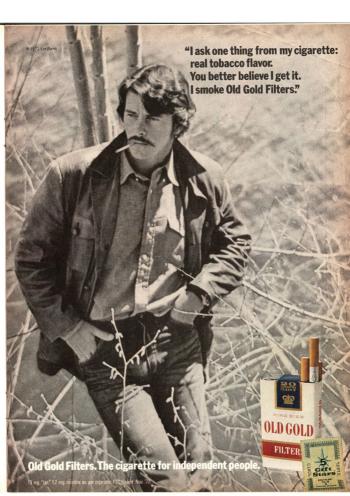
Because everything depends on "economic performance' (capitalists call it profit), the manager has wide power to innovate and is highly rewarded for increased productivity. At Budapest's "First of May" clothing factory, Director Sándor Vas, cognac and Coke in hand, says proudly; "To help sell the 1,500,000 coats we produce, we have hired market analysts, learned to package our coats attractively, and visited Paris, London and Munich fashion shows. Before, we always feared competing in the Western market. To our surprise, we tripled our sales westward. We even sell embroidered coats to Japan." A consumer magazine. Nagvitó ("Magnifying Glass"), has appeared, examining such products as refrigerators. nvlon stockings and canned goulash.

Changes in political style have accompanied the rise of a consumer-oriented economy. Kádár has urged his ministers to make themselves more accessible to the public. Ranking officials appear on a television show, called Forum, and answer questions phoned in by viewers. Potentially the most significant development is Kádár's encouragement of non-party candidates to run for office. So far, the response in local elections has been poor because Hungarians, not unreasonably, feel uneasy



WARSAW FOOD QUEUE







about running against party candidates. Nonetheless, a better turnout is expected in next month's parliamentary elections. Kádár is by no means prepared to sanction the birth of a political opposition, but he does want to create a broader base for consultation within the framework of Communist rule.

Going Out. For the foreseeable future, East Europeans are likely to take either East Germany or Hungary as their economic model. In the long run, however, they cannot help being attracted by Yugoslavia. Originally, the country was a carbon copy of the Soviet system. Before the 1948 split with Stalin, Yugoslavia's central plan spelled out every conceivable detail from production quotas to retail prices; in print, the plan weighed 3,000 lbs. By 1950, President Josip Broz Tito recognized the inefficiency of total central control. Tito allowed workers to participate in running the factories. Elected workers' councils acted like boards of directors, hiring managers to administer the plants. Strict central planning was abolished, and a free market was allowed to develop. Eventually, economic reform led to demands for change in Yugoslavia's

political and cultural life. The early spokesman for wider reforms was Milovan Diilas, who recently told TIME: "I felt that self-management could not develop in parallel with police power. It could not work efficiently without more political freedom." Diilas was imprisoned for nine years. But by the time he was released in 1966, Yugoslavia had achieved nearly all his goals. The power of the secret police was diminished. The press was essentially free to do anything except challenge Communism as a system, criticize Tito or speculate about his successor. The literary and performing arts were liberated from dogmatic strictures. Today Western styles are widely and wildly emulated. Along Belgrade's Terazije, maxicoats and Longuettes, velvet knickers and leather gaucho pants abound, as do swinging discothéques, modish butiks and the most daring skin magazines. A nude and naughty Hair plays in Belgrade, and Producer Mira Trailovic is currently casting an uncensored Oh! Calcutta!

Yugoslavia still faces serious problems, notably a severe infation and the nagning fear that once Tito is gone the is now 78), his successor will be hard put to keep the country unified. There is also an occasional throwback to dictatorial methods. Even so, the atmosphere is so free in Yugoslavia that other Eastern Europeans speak of a trip there as "going out."

Eastern Europeans know that Moscow would stop them from making any reforms as fundamental as those in Yugoslavia. Yet, by putting the brakes on change, the Soviet Union is incurring a heavy political cost. It is, in fact, increasing the very tensions that led to the Polish crisis, whose repercussions still reverberate through the East bloc.



PRIME MINISTER CHICHESTER-CLARK
The problems remain.

#### NORTHERN IRELAND The P.M. Resigns

No sooner was the Rev. Ian Paisley elected to Northern Ireland's Parliament as the spokesman of Ulster's right-wing protestants than he turned his victory specific protestants than he turned his victory specific protestant to the protestant government. Said praisley of moderate Unionist Prime Minister James D. Chichester-Clark: "Ill make it so hot for him that he'll want to retire." Last week Paisley threw Chichester-Clark out.

Under the guise of law-and-order, Paisley and the Protestant extremists demanded tighter controls on Ulster's Catholic minority. They wanted the weapons returned that Chichester-Clark's government had taken away from the dreaded "B Special" auxiliary police when British troops moved in. They also demanded that an internment order be invoked that would provide detention for suspected Irish Republican Army leaders. From the other side, the I.R.A., the guerrilla force of the extremist Catholic fringe, created even more trouble for the Prime Minister than Paislev. Chichester-Clark was also let down by the British, who are responsible for Ulster's security. The 8,500 troops sent to maintain order held back from a total crackdown on the I.R.A. in order not to antagonize the Catholic minority and drive them toward the I.R.A.

The 48-year-old gentleman farmer was finally pushed to his decision by the murder of three Scots soldiers two weeks ago (Time, March 22). Protestants reacted to the deaths with anti-government demonstrations. Chichester-Clark responded by flying to London to request additional troops and to ask that soldiers occupy Catholic neighbor-

hoods in Belfast and Londonderry to guarantee order. Prime Minister Edward Heath gave Chichester-Clark only 1,300 more men and refused to allow the army to take the kind of stern measures that might have appeased the Irish

Prime Minister's right-wing critics. The Protestant majority must now form its third government in two years. Chichester-Clark's successor faces a dicey assignment: not only is Northern Irea dwrapped in its worst crisis in the 50 years since partition, but no one appears to know how tend it. Speaking in Parlament of the problems just become the stepped down last week. Chichester Clark had only clear for his years of the problems in the custom the problems in the custom the problems in the problems in the problems just have to face the problems just as I have done.

#### FRANCE

#### Chatting with De Gaulle

"Do you know what death is." Charles de Gaulle asked his former Minister of Culture, André Malraux. "The goddess of sleep," the renowned French novelist replied, adding: "We belong to that category of people who don't care about being killed." That lofty dialogue is part of Lee Chénne, Qu'on A hau Failer on Oaks), Malraux's 23-beyage account eleven months before De Gaulle's death. Published in Paris last week, the book revals little of substance that is new about De Gaulle but provides plenty of fresh ancedotes and hoss motar.

Monsieur le Gorille. Malraux visited the retired President and his wife Yvonne for a little more than six hours at their home in Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises on Dec. 11, 1969. He did not record the conversation or take notes, but



DE GAULLE & MALRAUX (1964)
People want history to resemble them.

later felt compelled to reconstruct their conversation. Writes Malraux in his preface: "With surprise I found out that we know of no dialogue between a great hisknow of the preference of the preference of the writer, musician. We have no better knowledge of Julius III's dialogues with Michelangelo than of their loud quarreling. Nor of those between Alexander the Great and the philosophers. We are aswith Frederick the Great."

Malraux cannot be accused of that crime of omission. On one occasion, he relates, Brigitte Bardot arrived at an Elyse See Palaer reception in a hussar-style pajama suit. De Gaulle murnured to Malaraux, "What Luck, a soldler!" Then to dame. You are in uniform and I am inciving clothes!" Another tale recounts the time the nearsighted general plunger into a crowd without his glasses. "Bonjour, monsteur le curé," he said to one man, apparently kaing him for a priest. man, apparently kaing him for a priest. Bonjour, monsteur le curé, "I dong," said De Gaulle, "bonjour, monsteur le sorifle."

The conversation at Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises more often resembled two monologues than a dialogue. Some of De Gaulle's more telling ruminations and barbs, as reported by Malraux:

▶ "People want history to resemble them or at least to resemble their dreams. Happily, they sometimes have great dreams."

▶ "France's last agony . . . stems from her inability to believe in anything whatsoever . . Communism may permit the Russians to believe in Russia for reasons that put you to sleep standing up,

sons that put you to sleep standing up, but even so it is irreplaceable."

"Perhaps polities is the art of putting daydreams in their place. Nothing serious can be done if you bow to daydreams. But how can anything great be

done without them?"

▶ "Men can live without faith more easily than without thought."

▶ "I had the whole world against me every time I was right."

▶ "Why shouldn't the Spanish like me? They're very fond of Don Quixote."

▶ "Actually, you know, my only international rival is Tintin [a comic-strip character]. We are the little fellows who refuse to be had by the big fellows. People don't notice the resemblance because of my stature."

■ "I wished to bring France back to life and, to a certain degree, I did. As for the details, God will recognize his own."

▶ "Stalin told me only one serious thing: 'In the end, only death wins.'"

#### My Friend Flic

At first glance, the scene in Toulouse one evening last week might have seemed the perfect setting for a parade. Police had cleared the streets and the crowd was packed three deep on the sidewalks. Then at nine o'clock, the street lights went out, and a Mercedes and a Renault R-16 sped by on their way out



The fifth man must have talked.

of town. In the two cars were four bank robbers, four hostages, \$54,000 in ransom money and \$21,800 that the daring holdup men had taken from the Société Générale branch bank in Toulouse twelve hours earlier.

Getaway Car. When a group of masked men held up the bank, shortly after the doors had opened that morning, a bank official set off an alarm —and a bizarre series of events. Trying to escape in a gun battle with the gendarmes, one of the bandits was captured, and the other four took cover in the bank. The authorities laid siege to the building and telephoned the bandits inside to demand that they give themselves up. Instead, the robbers threatened to kill or maim the eight people still inside the bank if les flics (the cops) attacked. The holdup men also took phone calls from newsmen and radio stations and, at lunchtime, coolly telephoned a local newspaper to demand that beer and sandwiches be brought to them. Bank Manager Maurice Mazères delivered the food and took his deputy manager's place as a hostage, while the deputy delivered to the police a note demanding the ransom money and a second getaway car with a full gas tank.

At 7 p.m., the gendarmes parked a rented Renault—with the ransom money inside—at the bank door, alongside a Mercedes belonging to one of the hotages. Then, after waiting two hours to made their getavay with four hostages in the two cars. One hostage, a woman bank employee, was freed on the out-skirts of Toulouse. A customer was reased soon after. Mazères and another employee, Mrs. Marguette Garlee, were fixed to the complexity of the composition of the composition

The bandits, however, had overhooked major detail. Police still held the been captured if the still held the been captured at the start of the affair. Curiously, the men never asked for his release, a request that the police would probably have had no-choice but to grant. Left behind, he apparently spilled all, for within 48 hours, the gendarmes had captured three of the four robbers: François Garda, a Franco-spaniard with a long poor him: Guy Delpied and Roger Boissin. A Nimes cafe owner.

The momentary success of the Toulouse raid, however, started a rash of bank heists that brought little profit to the robbers but led to the injury of several hostages. Two bandits held up a bank in Trets, near Aix-en-Provence, and fled with \$1,800 and two hostages. Trapped in a traffic jam near Marseilles, they were caught after a shootout with police in which one of the hostages and three gendarmes were hurt. In Grenoble, two other crooks bundled a passing Peugeot car salesman into their automobile after holding up a bank. He, too, was wounded when police at a roadblock opened fire on the car. In suburban Paris, three armed men snatched a 14-month-old baby from its mother's arms and held a pistol to its neck while they looted a bank teller's drawer of \$1,200. After returning the baby, they made a successful escape.

The spread of the bank mania added to Premier Georges Pompidou's alarm over increasing violence in France. After a Cabinet meeting, Pompidou instructed Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin "to put an end to violence in the streets" and "to ensure that security of the citizens is really guaranteed."



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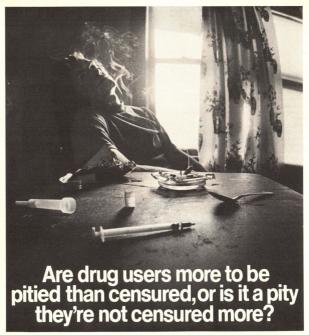
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Some Americans think drug addiction is a medical rather than a criminal problem. To be dealt with by physicians, not police. With drugs and treatment equally and legally available under government supervision.

This, they believe, would destroy the profit-motive in illegal drug traffic, take drug distribution out of the "pusher's" hands, and eliminate crimes that stem from the need to get drugs.

Others argue that making drugs

legal would undermine moral objections to their use, especially among

That it would destroy the only real deterrent to drug abuse and to frivolous experimentation with drugs that may not be habit-forming, but

can lead to the use of drugs that are.

They want stricter laws and more rigid enforcement against indiscriminate use of drugs.

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#### PEOPLE

"Nowadays young people develop more quickly than they did in my day says the Most Rev. Geoffrey Francis Fisher, 83, the former Archbishop of Canterbury. In a new book, Touching on Christian Truth, Dr. Fisher proposes to help the young avoid the sin of fornication by reviving the ancient rite of betrothal, "It would have to take place with the full consent of the two families," he wrote, "It would, in fact, be a sacramental act, made, as indeed marriage itself is, essentially by the two persons themselves. After that, sexual intercourse between them would not be regarded as, in the moral sense, for-nication." Marriage and children would follow when and if the two parties felt ready for it.

In Room S207 of Washington's Capitol Building last week, Republican Senator Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon gave a party for Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, a very different kind of Republican. The presents people brought had a lot in common-stuffed elephants and teething rings, diaper pins and diapers decorated with the Confederate flag, a copy of Winnie-the-Pooh. There was ice cream, of course, and a jar of wheat germ labeled "Strom's secret formula." Thurmond's Thurmond's second wife, 24, is about to present the 68-year-old Senator with his first child. Said he modestly: "I feel very honored.'

The April Azalea Festival in Norfolk, Va., headquarters of NATO's naval command for the Atlantic, has had 17 queens over the years to smile prettily in tribute to the Alliance. In December, Sir



No curtains.

Winston Churchill's beauteous granddaughter, Arobelle Churchill, 21, said that she would be delighted to be Azatea Queen No. 18. But last week the featival made public a letter from Azateas. "My Grandfather used the phrase to be that what is facing us all now its the final currain." "she worte." It seems to be that what is facing us all now its the final currain. The defence systems feetious ..., and committed to everfectious ..., and committed to everincreasing growth and intensification."



GABRIEL, JOAN & DAVID HARRIS No violence.

Joan Baez had something special to sing about-Husband David Harris, 25. was free after serving 20 months for refusing to register for the draft. Joan, 30, and their 16-month-old son Gabriel met him at the penitentiary near El Paso; from there, they flew to a San Francisco press conference. David plans "getting my feet on the ground" and then (with the permission of his parole officer) to go back to resisting the Indochinese war and the Selective Service. His resistance will be nonviolent, because nonviolence is "the most powerful tool available to anybody in this society-or any other society-and the only revolutionary tool available to anybody."

It warms the cockles of an eleemosynary organization man's heart when his group decides to honor someone



BOB HOPE

who is sure to be a big drawing card at the annual fund-raising dinner. So the choice of Bob Hope for the Family of Man Award of the New York City Council of Churches seemed especially gratifying, "The \$150-a-plate award dinner is a major source of income," noted the executive director, the Rev. Dan M. Potter, Last week, though, some 20 young ministers led an angry anti-Hope revolt at a meeting of the council's Gen-eral Assembly, "There is nothing in Mr. Hope's record showing public commitment to the three pressing issues that confront the council-poverty, racial justice and peace," said the Rev. Richard J. Neuhaus of Brooklyn's St. John the Evangelist Lutheran Church. Hope is known rather for his "uncritical endorsement of the military establishment and the Indochina war." After prolonged debate, the delegates decided to switch the award to the late Whitney M. Young Jr. Said Hope: "I'd vote for him myself."

The Manhattan hooker is no wistful Lili Marlene swinging a sad handbag under the street light. She is a feral and formidable bird of prey-as West Germany's ex-Finance Minister Franz Josef Strauss, 55, discovered at 2:30 one morning last week. Outside the Plaza Hotel just off Fifth Avenue, he was accosted by three women in a yellow car. One of them got out and suggested the possibility of deepening their relationship. "I took the whole thing from the ironic side," says Strauss. But the lady took the whole thing from another side, light-fingered his wallet and passport and zipped off into the car with them. Police promptly recovered Strauss's property, thanks to a cab driver who took down the license number, but bullnecked, pugnacious Strauss went home to a ribbing from the German press. Asked Munich's Süddeutsche Zeitung: "Will the Bavarian peasants still understand a Strauss who was robbed by a woman's hand?'

#### MEDICINE

#### Helping Out the Doctor

Two years ago, Dr. William Henry was ready to succumb to his annual urge and quit his general practice in rural Twisp, Wash, topp. 750). As the only Henry was so overworked that he seldom read a medical journal and never had a vacation. But last year the doctor got expert help from Carl Chillquist, a former Army medic. Ast Berny's pauprofession, to see many more patients, skim those to see many more patients, skim those

experience, such as pediatrics and geriatrics. The trainees were then paired with general practitioners for year-long preceptorships, after which they were hired by the doctors for salaries ranging from \$8,000 to \$12,000.

Bothlefield Credentiels, Wearing blue coats to distinguish themselves from physicians, the Washington State Medex men take patients' histories, help give physical examinations, suture minor lacerations, apply and remove casts. In a recent survey of the results, eight doctors reported that last year they were ifornia, similar programs may put former military medies to work in a total of 14 states before the end of the year. Recruits are hardly lacking. The armed forces expect to discharge about 35,000 trained medical specialists this year. So far, 6,000 e.s-medies have sought to put their training to use by enlisting in Medex.

#### Egeberg's Successor

From the moment he took office nearly two years ago as the nation's chief health officer. Dr. Roger Egeberg was shunned like a man with a permanent case of flu. A Democrat among Republicans. Egeberg had been the Administration's second choice for the job of Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The first choice, Dr. John Knowles, was dumped under pressure from conservatives in the American Medical Association. Within a year, rumor had it that Egeberg would be dumped as well. He had publicly agreed with critics who charged that President Nixon's federal health budget is inadequate.

Last week, after serving longer than anyone expected, a frustrated Egeberg conceded that he will soon be leaving his post for a less visible position on



MEDIC TREATING VIET NAM CASUALTIES

journals, and even get away for skiing and fishing. In recent years, Twisp itself has never had better medical care.

What brought Henry and Chillquist together was Medex, a unique program that recruits former military medics to work as doctors' helpers. The program, which takes its name from the French médecin extension (extension of the physician), was conceived in 1968 by Dr. Richard Smith, a professor of health services at the University of Washington. Smith had surveyed his state and found a serious imbalance between urban and rural medical services. While the Seattle area had one doctor for every 506 patients, the ratio in some rural areas stood at 1 to 5,000. "We found doctors who were working 14 to 16 hours a day," said Smith, "Some hadn't had a vacation in seven years. One town that had had five doctors was down to two, and one of those was talking about leaving.

Wosted Years. Smith turned to a previously untapped manpower pool: the medical corpsmen who administer emergency care and assist physicians throughgency care and assist physicians throughforces spend up to \$25,000 for training each corpsman, 'he explained, ''A corpsman may have from 600 to 2,000 hours of formal medical training and up to charge, he can rarely find a related health job in civilian life.'

In 1969, Smith and his medical school launched the first Medex demonstration program with 15 former medical corpsmen. Paid by the Government, the men got three months' training that emphasized skills missing from their military



able to treat 25,000 more patients than in 1969—an increase of 40%-50%.

Dr. Wil Gamon, who practices in Cheney (pop. 6,407), has nothing but praise for Medex Robert Woodruff, a former Army medic who helps him provide medical care at Eastern Washington State College. "He has good rapport with the students, who come back often and ask for him," says Gamon. Patients are equally impressed with the work of ex-Navy Corpsman Ronald Graves, a veteran of Marine combat in Viet Nam, who now works with Dr. Marshall Thompson in Davenport. Says one middle-aged patient: "If he's good enough to take care of our boys on the battlefield, he's good enough for me.'

Other doctors will soon take advantage of the corpsmen's competence. Next month, trainees from Dartmouth Medical School's Medex program will begin preceptorships with general practitioners in New England. From Alabama to CalMEDEX GRAVES IN DAVENPORT, WASH.

the HEW secretary's staff. The Nixon Administration's third choice for the position is Dr. Edmund Pellegrino, 50, dean of New York State University Medical School at Stony Brook, Long Island, and not registered in either political party.

Dr. Pellegrino is no less liberal in his views on national health needs than are Drs. Knowles and Egeberg. He has not been considered to the professional peaking the properties of the profession and wants a sizable increase in the number of U.S. medical students and paramedical personnel, the askill be will need at HEW, where his new post will involve overseeing the distinct of the professional peaking to some HEW insiders, administrational to some HEW insiders, administrational to the professional peaking the peaking t

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#### BEHAVIOR

#### Belfast and the Psyche

Urban violence is easily measured in terms of those killed or wounded. But what of the impact of such disruptions on the psyche? Two Belfast psychiatrists, themselves caught in the swirt of the city's Catholic-Protestant riols during 1969, wondered how the mental health of those living near and around the barricades had been affected. In two different papers published in the current person proposed to the control of the co

In World War II England, the number of people admitted to mental hos-

Long-Term Problem. Fraser, who is in charge of child guidance at the Royal Belfast Hospital for Sick Children, did sound one ominous note: long-term effects in children may be serious. In an as yet unpublished study, he reports on eight children. All had a previous history of being timid and nervous, and many of their parents had a "tendency to overreact to the threatening situation. In the wake of the riots, the children's condition grew markedly worse. All were affected by such varying symptoms as fainting spells, asthmatic attacks, and visible tension at the thought of leaving the house. Two children were subject to an increase of grand mal epileptic seizures. In some cases, the response to violence persisted for a year or more. "It

r of people admitted to mental hosolence persisted for a year or more. The revenue of the people admitted to mental hosor one people admitted to mental hosor one persisted for a year or more. The revenue of the people admitted to mental hosor one peopl

CHILDREN NEAR BELFAST BARRICADES

Disturbed response to urban violence.

pitals actually went down slightly. But in Belfast, according to Dr. Morris Fraser, 29, there was no "banding together in the face of a common enemy. Riots, in contrast to wars, do not seem to benefit any type of psychiatric illness." Fraser's study did find, however, that, as in war, stress appears to be "maximal in areas under threat of upheaval or "maximal there is active combat or direct risk to life and property." Thus a significant increase in mental disorders was noted in areas of the city on the fringe of the major fighting.

Among those in Belfast who did suffer mental problems, Dr. Hugh Alexander Lyons found that there were more women than men (162 to 55 in one samwomen than the (162 to 55 in one samvaluerable to the stress operating, abouded by men, such as vigilante duty in the area, may have had a protective effect." Both doctor carefully reported a formal "anxiety, but a large increase in tranquilizer use appeared to compensate for that adequately. was as if each child had his Achilles' heel," said Fraser, explaining their differing symptoms. The vulnerable children were forced over the edge by "intelerable expirety."

#### tolerable anxiety."

Social Science Impact

"Today, statements such as 'We know no more about human psychology and politics than Aristotle did' mainly express the ignorance of those who utter them." So contend Harvard Government Professor Karl Deutsch, University of Michigan Biophysicist John Platt and Political Scientist Dieter Senghaas of Goethe University in Frankfurt. The three scholars recently completed a major study of creative achievements in the social sciences, which they summarized in Science magazine. Countering the lingering academic disdain for behavioral studies as either imprecise esoterica or common sense festooned with jargon, the authors make a convincing case that the breakthroughs in social science have been real, cumulative, and possessed of as much practical impact as discoveries in pure science and technology.

In effect, Deutsch and his colleagues used the techniques of social science to measure social science. Specifically, they performed an extensive statistical analysis of 62 major social science breakthroughs from 1900 to 1965. Included were such striking individual achievements as Weber's analyses of bureaucracy, Gandhi's ideas on nonviolent action, and Mao Tse-tung's theories of peasant and guerrilla organization, as well as concepts developed by scholarly teams: general systems analysis, cybernetics, ecosystem theories and structural linguistics. The researchers constructed their own criteria for inclusion on the list. One key question: Did the advance lead to further knowledge rather than merely having an impact on social science practice

While individuals have been responsible for the largest number of breakthroughs since 1900, Deutsch and his associates concluded that "teams of social scientists seem likely to be the main source of major advances during the next decade," as they have been in the past 35 years. Supporting that contention was the parallel discovery that a handful of urban or university centers were responsible for a disproportionate number of the achievements. Chicago, Cambridge and New York accounted for one-half of all U.S. contributions. (Since 1930, the U.S. has been responsible for more than threequarters of the breakthroughs on the list.) As a result, say Deutsch & Co., "locating a highly specialized social science enterprise at a small town or college, far away from all distractions. seems to be a very promising prescription for sterility.

Counters and Poets. The study also showed that the time lag between discovery and broad social or intellectual impact is constantly shrinking; it is now about ten to 15 years, a period similar to that for breakthroughs in technology. Insights into new patterns of behavior have become relatively rare. More common in recent years have been advances depending on such quantitative factors as survey research and largescale tabulations, both of which require "major amounts of capital." Deutsch and his colleagues agree that "both types of scientific personalities, the quantifiers and the pattern-recognizers-the 'counters' and the 'poets'-will continue to be needed."

The authors—obviously counters—recommend that future research support be concentrated "in the form of tent-of-fifteen-year programs at clearly favorable locations." Though politicians prefer to spread research funds around, the study indicates that concentration would be more efficient. The researchers urge such increased efficiency in light of coordination in all industrialized societies. To cope with this increase, it seems essential to produce an early and large increase in social science knowledge and its constructive applications."

#### ENVIRONMENT

#### New Freeze on Alaskan Oil

Billions of barrels of oil reserves are buried under the stark landscape of Alas-ka's North Slope. The problem is how oget this treasure to market. The best way, oilmen argue, is to pipe the cruit of the southern port of Valdez, then tanker it to Seattle and Los Angeles. To date, oil companies have spent \$300 million on engineering surveys, tanker contracts and special steel pipes. Yet the Federal state a permit to build the 789-mile-long pipeline across public land.

tong presents across punits and an expension of the control of the

Avoiding Earthquokes. Canadian boosters have bussly promoted this al-ternative for months. For one thing, building such a pipeline and its service road would open up to development the country's vast potential reserves of Arctic oil and proven reserves of natural gas. For another, it would send Canadian as well as Alaskan oil directly the control of the total proposal, and the country with the control of the unique problems besetting the proposed Alaska pineline.

The Alaskan line cannot be built unit Congress decise how to settle the ancient claims of the state's natives to public lands along the piper route. While the Alaskan line would rorss frour active earthquake zones—posing the danger of breaks and consecuent ecological damage—Canada's pipeline would follow the relatively flat Marckenzie River valley along most of its 1,700-mile route. Moreover, the Canada pipe would obsorbed to the property of the Pacific coast or in the navigationally tricky. Puet Sound area.

Bonkrupt by 1976. Despite its long policy of protecting U.S. producers by sharply limiting imports of foreign oid, the Government realizes that domestic reserves are starting to decline while demand continues to rise by 4% a year. "Over the long run," a Washington oil official admits, "we can use all the Canadian oil we can eet."

But the Canadian pipeline presents environmental difficulties. Although the Ottawa government has drawn up strict guidelines, says Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, "we have not solved all the problems yet. We are not ready to grant a permit tomorrow." In a recent statement, the U.S. Interior Department dement, the U.S. Interior Department de-

clared that the alternate Canadian route would "serve mainly to shift the location of ecological problems rather than cure them." Both routes would disturb wildlife, and both confront permafrost. Hot oil, piped through this frozen ground, might melt the land around it, causing the pipe to sag and break—tarring huge areas with toxic crude.

Alaskans of course take a dim view of the Canadian proposal. Expecting to reap an economic bonanza from the \$2

PIPELINE CHOICES

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billion pipeline's construction, they have entered a recession instead. Unemployment stands at 15.3%, and businesses from Barrow to Ketchikan are failing. Unless the pipeline is started soon, Governor William A. Egan argued last month, the state may go bankrupt by 1976. On the other hand, the Alyeska Pipeline Service Co., a consortium of oil and pipeline companies that plans to build the Alaska line, is confident that EPA Administrator Ruckelshaus is merely studying alternatives. Says Alyeska President Edward L. Patton: "We have to date heard of no new and substantive data that would indicate the trans-Alaska project is not environmentally, politically and economically sounder than the trans-Canada line being pushed by some Canadian politicians

If anything certain has come out of

all the official maneuvering, it is that Washington is stalling for time before making a firm decision on the North Slope's oil. Some observers predict that President Nixon will put off the decision until after the 1972 campaign, thus antagonizing as few partisans as possible. Still, no one doubts that Alaskan oil will eventually get to the U.S. marketplace. As if to stress that fact, oilmen last week mulled a startling idea whose hazards make environmentalists blanch: General Dynamics has proposed 250,000-ton, nuclear-powered submarine tankers to shuttle oil from the North Slope to the Atlantic seaboard under the polar icecap.

#### The Tankerman's Eerie World

Since the Torrey Canyon disaster in 1967, the world's ever bigger oil tankers have drawn worse and worse publicity. Viewers with alarm see them as oil-leaking time bombs that defile the seas with toxic black goo. Tankermen have a different perspective. Sailing calmly through gales of criticism, they supply the key fuel that powers modern nations and without which great cities would be ghost towns. To examine that perspective, Time's Paris Bureau Chief William Rademaekers signed aboard the brand-new Esso of The Netherlands tanker Europoort for a five-day cruise from the Canary Islands to Milford Haven, Wales. His report:

"At 1,44 ft., 157 felsts of an inch." my press kit told me, "the Europoort is the world's longest ship—85 ft. longer than the Effel Tower." When I first was a few first and the Effel Tower. "When I first was a few first and the Effect of th

By any name, the Europoort is a luxury liner. Her Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese crewmen each have private cabins with private portholes. Officers have double beds, most of them equipped with wives. Since tankers are not allowed to carry passengers, the wives sign on as "stewardesses." Esso draws the line for bachelor officers: they occupy their double beds alone. But in every other respect, the company pampers its men. The ship boasts two comfortable recreation rooms, twice-a-week movies, a well-equipped photographic darkroom, a galley for late snacks, ample Dutch gin and 12,000 bottles of Heineken's beer for each two-month round trip between apathy (the Persian Gulf) and tedium (Milford Haven). For overfed crewmen, Esso also provides a small swimming pool, a gymnasium and a nonskid jogging track around the ship's four-

Because automation has cut the crew requirements on new VLCCs to as few

# Once you understand how central air conditioning works, you'll understand why General Electric's works better.

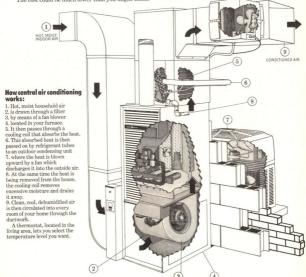
Central air conditioning is one of the best investments you can make for your family. In terms of comfort, well-being, and good living.

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Particularly if you have a forced warm air furnace to begin with. Because, for both heating and cooling, a fan and ductwork are required. That's why we say if your house has an adequate forced warm air furnace and ductwork, you're halfway ther.

The purpose of this primer on central air conditioning is to help you make a wise investment. We believe a careful reading will reward you well for years to come.



#### GE builds extra quality into every component.

From the preceding page, you know basically how central air conditioning works. Now if you'll consider our system component by component, you'll learn about some of the extra quality we build in.

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We have three models: the Executive, Deluxe, and Standard.

The Executive, in an exclusive champagne color that blends in with any surroundings, can give you operating costs up to 15% lower than other compressor models of the same capacity. This is our top-of-the-line model, with an automatic two-speed fan so that it loafs along quietly on moderate days, but has plenty of reserve power to shift into high air flow automatically on a scorcher to keep you cool and comfortable.



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Wealsohave a Deluxe model that offers you matched component reliability. It features a classic appearance and a manually operated two-speed fan. Then we have our Standard model (not shown) with competitive economy, high reliability and performance.

All carry a one-year parts only warranty plus an additional four-year parts only warranty for the motor compressor. (Diagnostic calls and local delivery of parts not included.)

#### Top discharge is better.

Top discharge is an idea that was pioneered by GE. It means that hot air is directed upward; not at the bushes. (Side discharge can kill near-byplantsvery quieckly). Another thing about top discharge, the noise is directed upward and not toward your neighbor's house. GE top discharge brings in air from four sides at large than the side of t



SPINE FIN COILS COMPRESSOR

sides at low velocity which helps to prevent clogging of condenser surfaces with leaves, grass clippings, etc.

### GE's exclusive, efficient Spine Fin™ coils help prevent leaks.

Only GE central air conditioning units have Spine Fin condenser coils. On an equal weight basis, they're almost twice as effective as conventional plate fin coils. That's

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This eliminates over 90% of the brazed joints, which are the spots where leaks occur to cause most failures.



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home and pocketbook.

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DECK OF THE "EUROPOORT"
Private rooms and 12,000 beers.

as 30 men (future ships may have only nine), modern tanker life produces a weird sense of isolation. The Europoort seemed to glide through the Atlantic like the Mary Deare, a ghost ship in search of a port. That's why I looked forward to meals so much. It was reassuring to see the officers there -all there. But that in turn led to the sinking question of who was driving. The answer was the automatic pilot, automatic radar, automatic steering adjuster. "We stay in our staterooms said one officer. "This ship runs itself, and when something goes wrong, it's too damned complicated to fix anyway. Have a beer?"

When ships are run by computers that can plot the course, set the speed according to sea conditions, load and unload tanks, and even diagnose a sick sailor's ailment, the inevitable result is boredom. The scraping and painting that busied generations of seamen are no longer necessary. The Europoort, for example, is coated with 600 tons of nearly impervious paint that requires a cosmetic fix only once every two years. Seasickness, which used to keep novice seamen running for the rail, is only a memory. The huge beam of the VLCCs -close to 200 ft .- makes them extremely stable, even in rough storms. Faced with up to four months at sea, Europoort's crewmen complain that the money (\$300 a month) does not compensate for the monotony. More and more, oil companies are finding it difficult to hire qualified men.

Along with ennui, tankermen are prey to fleeting fears. In the past two months, mysterious explosions have sunk three tankers off the coast of Africa. Last week four crewmen were killed when a

Swedish tanker blew up in a Hamburg drydock. Loaded, the Europoort carries enough oil to pollute beaches from Holland to Spain, though Esso strictly bans any ocean discharges except in dire emergencies. Empty, the ship is as potentially explosive as nitroglycerin. with a rich mixture of oxygen and oil fumes in its massive tanks. To prevent inadvertent explosions, a Japanese company has designed an automatic system that forces inert. nonflammable gas into emptying tanks, thus displacing oil fumes. But such devices are not yet in general use

Parochute Brake. Empty or full, VLCCs are so underpowered to save building costs) that Europoort, for one, needs two hours to hit top speed of 16.5 knots. As a further result, the behenoths are plagued with the problem of stopping, which can take up to ten miles. By "Staloming," or steering hard port and then hard starboard, and the problem of stopping, which was the starboard, which was the starboard of the st

paractine that it hopes can total tanker's stopping distance by one-fourth. But with bigger and bigger tankers (perhaps up to 1,000,000 tons) on the drawing boards, such safeguards may be canceled out.

Fortunately, VLCC skippers are among the world's best-trained ship captains. Despite his seven years' previous experience as a tanker master, Europoort's Huib Jansen was not allowed to take command until he attended a "captain's school" in Grenoble, France, site of the 1968 Winter Olympics. There, in a 40-ft. boat, he was pushed around a manmade lake by a minuscule half-horsepower engine, maneuvering his craft with his eyes at the same level he now gets from the bridge of the Europoort. 'It looks rather foolish with all of us out there in these boats during the daytime," he says, "But at night, when all practicing captains are using only their running lights and we're trying to move those models with that tiny engine, it is very much the real thing." Grenoble, he served aboard a smaller VLCC before assuming command of the Europoort.

Dangerous Squeeze. On this particular voyage. Captini Jansen soon proved the value of his training. Having stopped and anchored Europoor three miles from the tricky entrance to Millord Haven, Jansen waited for the local pisher in the miles of the miles of the shelf into the harbor. The pilot was shelf into the harbor. The pilot was due at 11 pm.—moments before the needed tide would reach its highest. At 10.43, a basketball-size steam valve in the engine room blew apart, knocking er \$27-ton anchored to lift the tanker's \$27-ton anchored to lift the lif

"What about moving tomorrow?" asked Jansen, "Won't do, captain," said

the pilot. "Can't get a lunker like." Unless two ret the shelf with that tide." Unless the ship moved immediately, he added, he 17-ft, tide would dwindle—marooning Europoort for four days. That was abd news for Jansen: delays cut profits in the tanker business (and speed some cutous accidents). "Can you give the control of the pilot." San you give your responsibility," said the pilot. "Do you have any telepath."

After 25 tense minutes, the valve was patched and the anchor raised. "It's too late, captain," the pilot murmured. "We're going in," Jansen persisted. "Pray 16.8 and going down. "I couldn't change your mind?" asked the pilot softly. "No," said Jansen. "If you knew Susie like 1 know Susie," hummed the pilot. "What's

your reading keel to bottom?" Six fathoms five

Six fathoms . five . four . one and a half. Finally, the reading was less than 6 ft., with a 16.3-ft. tide. But then a slight wind sustained the tide so the Europoort could just squeeze over the rocks at three knots, Three did you know it would work?" I asked Jansen. "That's my job," he replied cool-ly, "Besides, I couldn't sit out there for four days."

#### Signal from the Wild

According to ornithologists, the distinctive yap-yap-yap call and drumming of the large (19 in.) ivory-billed woodpecker have not been heard in significant numbers in the U.S. since the late 1930s, when all but a few of the birds were wiped out by loggers who cut down rotten, grub-filled swamp timber on which the woodpeckers fed. Now an official of the National Audubon Society named Robert Manns claims that he has heard one woodpecker's cries in the desolate Santee Swamp, near Co-lumbia, S.C. The South Carolina Public Service Authority has heard Manns. The authority, which controls Santee Swamp timbering projects, has agreed to suspend timbering in the area until a year-long study determines, among other things, whether there really is an ivory-billed woodpecker behind that call.



Cry in the swamp.



ED SULLIVAN & GUESTS AT HIS TV PREMIÈRE (JUNE 20, 1948)

#### The Winner Is . . .

Price Waterhouse is now tabulating ballots for the coveted annual Uggy Award, honoring the season's most mortifying TV show.

The Georgies Awards telecast, a selfcongratulatory outing for variety performers contrived for Ed Sullivan, was well ahead in the competition until last week, when the record industry's Grammy Awards show on ABC descended past all previous lows for tedium and tastelessness. But two major contenders for the Uggy still loom ahead. TV's own Emmy show always finds fresh ways to embarrass the medium, and though little has leaked about next month's Oscar cast, there is reason to take faint heart: the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award will be given, with a straight face, to Frank Sinatra.

The one show that on its past record is one in Uggs contention is Broadway's Tony Awards, which will be televised Tony Awards, which will be televised to the past of the grant past of the music crowd seen last week, are can be also the grant past of the grant past

As a stage producer, Alex Cohen has some presiguous credits Homen The Homecoming) and some gergeious lopelic the most recent, the musical Persipulation of the Tony show producer for the parties of four years, Cohen has achieved such celat that Archiveal David Merrick mischievously made a bid to take over the assignment—without a fee. The group derived the production of the production of

I'm the Maid. Perhaps Cohen's major coup has been to corner more distinguished names than the competing award shows put together. He says, "You know how often on the Oscars some girl will rush up and make a speech that goes something like, 'I'm accepting this award for Mr. Rock Johnson, Mr. Johnson is in Duluth, but he asked me to rell you that I'm his made, and that he loves you all very much." Cohen also manages to give honorary Tonys to stars who may not fit the contest categories but are likely to raise the Nielsen rating or deliver particularly urbane acceptance remarks. Lordard Bernbane was the wash with a submitted audience why he was there, having "contributed precisely nothing to the Broadway musical scene for twelve years."

It was a rare needle. In his 30 years on Broadway, Cohen has developed an unusually cozy rapport with his stars. He publicizes them lavishly, respects their artistic judgments, and is an allround problem-solver. When Cohen's 1964 Hamlet, Richard Burton, and his wife wanted tickets to the Frazier-Ali fight, they naturally rang up Alex (he got them a pair, but they didn't go). "How do you treat a star?" asks Alex. "Like a star." That is a little difficult at the Tonys where everyone is a star. He can provide them all with limousines but not private dressing rooms and dressers. (In the 1968 show, Marlene Dietrich was spotted massaging Pearl Bailev's perennially aching feet.) Agents can also be a nuisance, carping just before air time that their client's intro is 37 words of praise shorter than someone else's.

But those ego irritations are minor compared with the production problems he faces in this week's show at the Palace Theater. Since it is the Tonys' silver anniversary. Cohen has not contented himself with the usual four or

PRODUCER ALEXANDER COHEN



so numbers from current Broadway musicals. Instead, he is restaging, with minimum rehearsals, 25 classics from 25 years. Four-time Winner Gwen Verdon will do the ballet from Can-Can (1954), Robert Preston will sing Trouble (in River City) from The Music Man (1958), and 27 other stars will also appear—live—in a scheduled two hours.

By any rational theater standards, Cohen is overreaching himself. The Tonys telecast will be either a dark-horse winner in the Uggy race or such a smash that David Merrick will have no strategic choice but to pay for the right to replace Cohen.

#### The Losers Are . . .

TV programming executives are consummate gamesmen. But traditionally, the fall schedules they announce close to Washington's Birthaly—unlike the trial ballooms they floot down Madison by mean. This year, there was an unprecedented amount of delay and, in the words of one AIR Vice president, "a lot of lying." The explanation came last week with the schedules: 35 of TV's 77 prime-time series, including the The Ed Sulfium Show, were jettisoned. It was the most convulsive upheaval in network history.

The turnover was caused primarily by a Federal Communications Commission ruling that will limit the networks to three hours of nightly programming instead of three and a half between 7 and 11 p.m. (6 to 10 p.m. in the Central Time Zone). The resulting changes exceeded anyone's expectations. NBC's cancellations include Red Skel-ton, Andy Williams, Julia, The Name of the Game, Men of Shiloh (ne The Virginian), and Kraft Music Hall. NBC's Bill Cosby and ABC's Marlo Thomas (That Girl) declared their retirements before they could be canned. ABC also dumped, among others, Lawrence Welk, Danny Thomas, Johnny Cash, Pearl Bailev and The Newlywed Game.

At CBS, where the new regime of President Robert Wood and Programming Vice President Fred Silverman is rapidly ridding that network of its lingering Saturday Evening Post image, the casualty rate was the highest of all.



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THE LOUISVILLE AND NASHVILLE RAILROAD

# THE PRESS

Out, in addition to Sullivan, were such other golden oldies as Andy Grifflith, Jim Nahors, The Beverly Hillbillies, Hogaris Heroes, Family Afglai and Hee Haw. The time has come to go big verman. Translation: CBs, adopting the reasoning of its competition, has decided that who watches a show is as important as how many. The young adult, metropolitan market is preferred by most rard customers and withhis brands more often.

No Relevance. The networks' replacement shows, at least on paper, do not presage any major format breakthroughs for next season. The straitened conditions in the movie business have made a few top-rank stars available to TV for the first time and have forced a few old favorites to return. James Stewart will make his series debut as a college professor in an NBC situation comedy. ABC has landed Shirley MacLaine for a sitcom in which she is a roving photojournalist, Tony Curtis as a jet-set adventurer in an action series and Anthony Ouinn as a Mexican-American mayor, CBS signed Glenn Ford for a western and brought back Dick Van Dyke in another sitcom.

The trend is away from the variety grab bags and toward action melodramas. "There will be no return to relevancy," says ABC Vice President Ed With acute understatement, he adds: "We didn't handle it too well." other executive says: "The name of the game next fall will be law-and-order. Eleven of the shows will feature law-enforcement types. Don Adams, in his first sitcom since Get Smart, will be a dunderhead detective on NBC. The same network has cast George Kennedy as a cop turned priest; the show is not called God Squad but Sarge. If nothing else, Douglas Cramer, executive vice president of Paramount TV, which produces Odd Couple and Mission: Impossible, expects most scripts to be "tougher and more sophisticated" next season

The distinction (or lack of it) between 1971-72 and the past will be due more to the FCC rule than any network decision. The regulation's laudable intention-to spur individual stations and independent producers into innovative programming-has been all but defeated by the naive way in which the commission drafted the rule and then modified it with exemptions. Producers call the rule the FCC's "Viet Nam." Local stations have overcome their panic at the prospect of having to be creators instead of just salesmen. All of them will be able to use old network material for a year.

The net result of the rule is that the nightly half hour turned back to the stations will be filled largely with syndicated games like Beat the Clock and third or fourth reruns of series like I Dream of Jeannie. "For the most part," says CBs Vice President Silverman, "it will be garbage."

# Low-Keyed Muckrakers

In challenging existing political magazines, a newcomer has about a much chance of success as a New Leftist taking over National Review. The odds against survival are so great that only an editor with a strong, fixed idea, uninhibited by the conventional wisdom of his field, would test them. In little more than two years, the Washington Monthly, which offers a unjue, pianissimo brand of muckpraking, has beatrest to the conventional transportation of the convention of the capital and the advertisers who may soon make it a profitable labor of conviction.

This week the Monthly and Fledgling

The Washington Wonthly

American Arms Abroad by George Thayer

AWARD-WINNING JOURNAL Noticed where it matters.

Editor Charles Peters will receive a George Polk award for an article revealing Army-intelligence surveillance of U.S. civilians involved in protests and political activity. The Jan. 1970 article bore other significant fruit: the congressional hearings held before Senator Sam Ervin Jr. (see THE NATION), Of perhaps greater long-range importance to the Monthly's future is that it is being noticed where it matters. It is must reading at the White House, on Capitol Hill and elsewhere in the Government. The praise of NBC's John Chancellor. former director of the Voice of America, is typical: "They've done more than the original prospectus. It has impact. There's a lot to read in this town, but I think people spend a little more time than usual with this one.

That prospectus in the Monthly's first issue in Feb. 1969 promised readers "to help you understand our system of politics and government, where it breaks down, why it breaks down and what can be done to make it work." To the

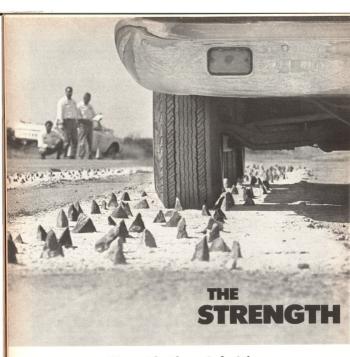
Monthly, no territory is off-limits; it has zeroed in on Congress, lobbyists, governmental agencies, press, labor and management. More often than not, Peters' material is not written by journalists but by those who were or still are Government insiders and veterans of the bureaucratic wars.

The award-winning Army spying story came to Peters in the mail from a former intelligence agent. Christopher Pyle, In March 1969, a former member pyle, in March 1969, a former member in an article on "How the Pentagon Can Save Spoo0,000." Sentor Frank Church has lectured Nixon on how to end the Viet Nam War, and a Isusice Department lawyer described how political quirements in the Department of Justice.

Whatever the origin of a story idea, when it reaches print in the Monthly it bears the Peters imprint: well-documented, straightforward, calm-and tough. As his fellow muckraker I.F. Stone comments: "It's a responsible magazine. It doesn't go in for half-assed hysterics." The format fits the approach: the Monthly is about the size of National Geographic but as deliberately subdued in appearance as the Geographic is eyecatching. The magazine's staff of six is talented and young; its co-managing editors, Taylor Branch and John Rothchild, are in their mid-20s, and they write with a forceful combination of personal journalism and disciplined documentation.

On the Left. The Monthly's economic health has improved with its editorial strength. Circulation at \$1 a copy is 23,000, and the March issue carries more advertising than ever before, a still modest 9½ out of 67 pages. Peters calculates he will break even in one more year. Meanwhile, he admits that "at times it's been brutal. A couple of times I've been down to the last thousand dollars." When he gets there, Peters hustles more money from backers who share a liberal outlook with him and his staff. His angels include West Virginia's Secretary of State John D. Rockefeller IV and Alfred Clark, heir to the Singer Sewing Machine fortune. "Ideologically, we're on the left," says Peters, "But not always, There are middle-of-the-road and conservative contributors to the magazine, too." However, Peters admits that no recognized conservative has appeared in the journal. "You won't find James J. Kilpatrick here.'

won time James J. Ripparter, Brete-Fund raising is only one of Peters' talents; at 44, he has a varied background that does not include journalism. He reace Corps, a practicing lawyer and a member of the West Virginia legislature. His Peace Corps function—calmly stated but unflinching evaluation of agency programs—is the backbone of his magzaine's approach. It may have more than a little to do with why attention is being paid to the Monthly.



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. . . SHOULDERING KNICKS' WILLIS REED



ROBERTSON JUMPING



COSTELLO PROTESTING

# SPORT

# Big Time for the Bucks

It was a big moment for the Milwaukee Bucks. Staving off a late rally by the Detroit Pistons, the Bucks registered their 19th victory in a row, to set a new National Basketball Association record for consecutive wins. After his team bounded jubilantly into the locker room. Coach Larry Costello locked the door until everyone had a chance to simmer down. Then he announced grandly: "Let the press in!" In they came-three reporters and a stray autograph hound. "No TV cameras, nothing! Costello fairly shouted in dismay, "If the Knicks had set this record, the news would be in Tokyo already. That's the way it is with the Bucks.

Exen in triumph they seem bugged by the Knicks, whose 1970 mark the Bucks had just broken. All season long, while Milwaukee was rolling toward on the season to the season long, while with the season long, while put some kind of double whammy on the Bucks. When the two teams of the first time this season, Milwaukee was riding at legame wirning streak. Vorkers held the league's highest-scoring team to eleven points in the

final quarter, their lowest output ever. In their last meeting, the Knicks outscored the Bucks 22-10 in the final eight minutes win going away. That gave the Knicks four victories over the Bucks in five games this season, and eleven of 15 in the past two years. Mysticol Way. The Knicks

Mystical Way. The Knicks may be able to stop Milwaukee, but almost nobody else can. In Center Lew Alcindor and Guard Oscar Robertson, the Bucks have the most potent one-two scoring punch in the game today. Much more aggressive off the boards than in his rookie year, Alcindor

is averaging 16 rebounds a game and scoring at a 32-point pace with his derricklike hook shots and whirling dunks. Snared from Cincinnati in a masterful trading coup, Robertson is playing as well as he ever has in his ten-year N.B.A. career. Remarkably unselfish for a superstar, he has sacrificed a bit of his scoring average (19.7 per game) to help set big Lew up for the close-in shot. As the team's record proves, Robertson has been exactly the kind of veteran court general that the youthful Bucks-including starting Forwards Bob Dandridge and Greg Smith and Guard Jon McGlothin-needed to pull the team together. This week, when the Bucks move

into the first round of the N.B.A. physoffs, the only question is whether they can stay together once the pressure his. And hit it will, especially if they meet the Knicks in the finals. Although the New Yorkers have less rebounding and New Yorkers have less rebounding and offer the control of the control of the and more versatile bench—and, like the old Boston Cellics, a refentless, almost mystical way of winning the big ones. If the Bucks can finally shake the Knick bugaboo. Couch Costello will have around to fill any locker room.

NAGASHIMA





# Learning by Doing

Clever people, those Orientals. Consider baseboru. For nearly three decades after the professional game was introduced to Japan in 1936, the native teams politely and honorably lost to visiting U.S. clubs in a series of postseason exhibition games. All along, of course, the Japanese players were learning while losing. Just how much they learned became shockingly clear to the San Francisco Giants last year. When they went to Japan to take on such supposed pushovers as the Taivo Whales, Nankai Hawks and Chunichi Dragons. the Giants were clobbered in six out of nine games. Now, anxious to pick up more pointers, the Japanese have sent two of their best teams. Tokyo's Yomiuri Giants and Lotte Orions, to train in Florida and Arizona respectively. As intended, their performances have given impetus to Japan's interest in internationalizing big league baseball and thus creating what Orions Chairman Nasaichi Nagara calls the "true World Series. The Tokyo Giants, winners of six

straight Japanese championships, gave a preview of that prospect when they met the Baltimore Orioles, winners of last year's World Series, in an exhibition game at Maimi. First Baseman Sadaharu Oh, the "Babe Ruth of Japan," who slugged 47 homma last season and

earns a neat \$120,000 a year, drove in two runs on two hits, using an odd, dog-at-a-hydrant batting stance that hasn't been seen in the U.S. since the heyday of Mel Ott. Oh's occidental counterpart, mountainous Boog Powell (35 home runs and a \$90,-000 salary), went hitless. Although the Giants moved into an early lead, the Orioles pulled out a 6-4 victory with two runs in the eighth inning. The visiting Giants then went on to trounce the Kansas City Royals 7-4 and the Minnesota Twins 6-3. As always, the hustling Japanese traded on the pinpoint precision of their pitchers and the

Everybody's in bed and I'll be soon, but not yet, because the bath is so soothing and I can relax and . . .





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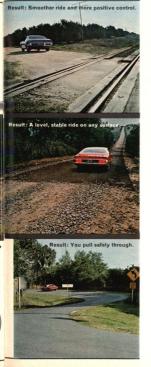
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# EDUCATION

big bats of Oh and Third Baseman Shigeo Nagashima. Known as "Mr. Giant," Nagashima, 35, who has led the league in hitting and runs batted in five times, earns \$130,000 a year. Giants Owner Toru Shoriki, noting that his team drew 2,500,000 fans last year (Oriole attendance, 1,057,000), said simply: "We make lot of money."

The Giants came to Florida as students rather than superstars. Compared to U.S. major leaguers, the Japanese pitchers have good control (but not much speed) and the hitters have sharper batting eyes (they rarely went after a bad pitch). Their slight physiques, however, leave them wanting in hitting power and speed on the basepaths. Slugger that he is, First Baseman Oh, nonetheless, owes some of his homers to the fact that the fences in Japanese ballparks are 30 ft. to 40 ft. shorter than those in the U.S. Eager to amend their deficiencies, the Tokyo Giants attended daily lectures run by their hosts, the Los Angeles Dodgers. taking notes as Shortstop Maury Wills told them through an interpreter to "Sekkyoku-teki ni hasire [Run aggressively]" and Batting Coach Dixie Walker advised "Liner uchi o kokoro gakeyo [Hit the line drivel," They did, and banged out an 8-4 victory over the Philadelphia Phillies and a 3-3 record before returning home to Tokyo.

In Casa Grande, Ariz., meanwhile, the Lotte Orions celebrated a 7-2 victory over the California Angels last week by touching off a string of firecrackers in the dugout. Ranked as the strongest hitting team in Japan, the Orions last season had five men in the lineup who hit 20 or more home runs. Unlike the Tokyo Giants, who pride themselves on being "pure-blood Japanese," the Orions have two gaijin (foreigners) in their murderer's row-Arturo Lopez (21 home runs), a former utility player for the New York Yankees, and Black Outfielder George Altman (30 homers), late of the Chicago Cubs. Lopez, who was raised in New York City and went to Japan to "give my kids a better environment," said last week: "I just can't wait to get back to Tokyo. I'm homesick."

Most of the other Orions were too busy at the training table set for them by their hosts, the San Francisco Giants, to get homesick. Convinced that the Western diet is the secret to the power of U.S. players, the Orions wolfed down platters of roast beef, steak, corned beef and cabbage, brownies and, after a few lessons on gnawing techniques. corn on the cob. Something worked. After losing their first five games by narrow margins, the Orions exploded for eleven hits to trounce the Oakland Ath-

With 14 games remaining on their spring training schedule and dozens more American dishes to sample, the Orions have only one complaint: they can't find any suitable souvenirs to take home. Seems that everything they pick up is stamped "Made in Japan."

# New Readings on Reading

One five-year-old sits on the floor comparing the sounds of rattles filled with sand and BB shot. Another carefully spoons dried beans from a full bowl into an empty one. Four children tell stories to a teacher, who writes them down on a large pad. Sample: "The tiger is under the bed. He is playing rough. The tiger is wild. He is very happy."

Strangely enough, the children are all learning to read at a public school in Merrick, N.Y., 'on Long Island's South Shore. The rattles are supposed to enhance "reading readiness" by sharpening a child's hearing discrimination: the dictated stories enable the teacher to show students how their spoken words actually look in print. Moreover, when the children seem ready to decipher print, Merrick teachers can match each one to any of 14 reading curriculums put out by ten different publishers. "Most kids can learn with any of several methods," says Primary Co-ordinator Karlyn Wood, "But they all learn in slightly different ways, and

some need particular stress on certain

skills. We're not regimented to any

one way for every child."

TV Goad. Such diversity is now the most hopeful U.S. trend in the teaching of reading. Convinced that orthodox methods have misfired (more than onethird of public school pupils read below the minimum standard for their ages), reading teachers are also goaded by TV's remarkable series for preschoolers. Sesame Street, whose "graduates" now enter school knowing the alphabet and bored by many traditional reading exercises (Time cover, Nov. 23). Twentyfive years ago, most schools used three

"basal" reading programs of stories and workbooks; today there are 20, three introduced in the past year, each splintered into as many as 250 books, tests and assorted props.

This month many schools are considering which books to buy for next year, and salesmen are eagerly proclaiming that they have "the" curriculum. In fact, reading researchers now warn, no one technique works for everyone and schools should provide a broad range of materials. The major new options:

RELEVANCE. More than half the nation's adults were drilled on numbing incantations of the Dick and Jane readers ("See Dick run. See Jane run."). Born in 1931 to Scott, Foresman & Co. of Glenview. Ill., Dick and Jane inspired competing publishers to beget their own families of white, suburban, middle-class Pollyannish imitations: Alice and Jerry, Mark and Janet, Jack and Jean. Now those ninnies are slowly being phased out. With a fanfare of press conferences last fall, Scott, Foresman launched new "reading systems" primers with an interracial cast of characters who change from story to story. Subjects now range from scary folk tales to nonfiction manuals for performing scientific experiments.

LINGERING "LOOK-SAY." In the new Scott Foresman program, the children begin with simple pictures and simple captions ("A girl got on a bus"), Told that the words say what the picture shows, the kids have little trouble "reading" the sentence aloud. Under the teacher's guidance, they soon recognize and recall more new words each day.

Since adults decode printed words largely by familiarity with their shapes and placement in sentences, the Scott, Foresman authors argue that children



DICK & JANE LESSON (1965) Dick said, "Go, Jane, Jump! Jump! Jump! Jump!"



TEACHER'S EDITION OF NEW PRIMER "Look at the picture. Who got on the bus? Yes, a girl got on the bus. That's what the sentence under the picture tells us. Let's read it together."

should start the same way and later add systematic phonics, which involves the teaching of sounds of individual let-tex, diphthongs and the like. In short, the old "look-say" reading method his exist was perfer phonics from the start. On balance, says Dr. Carl Smith of Indiana University's Reading and Evaluation Center, "Many of our traditional approaches have been successful with many children, but chiefly those with cabulary and no dialect problems."

SACK TO PHONICS, Fortunately, the othres can benefit from a parallel revival of phonics. In a program offered by New Dimensions in Education Inc., for instance, each letter is given a zany personality that makes use of nomatopocia. Sample sentence: "When umbrella-faced Miss U stands between Mr. H's horrible hair and Mr. M's munching mouth, things begin to HU.M".

To ease the confusions of English spelling, which uses different letters for similar sounds ("shoe" and "nation"), the "Initial Teaching Alphabet" adds 18 made-up letters to the regular 26 so that all sounds can be spelled identically. Example: "too bee, or not too bee; that is the kwestion." Children later switch to conventional spelling with little apparent strain. Still other systems concentrate on the 80% of English words that are phonetically regular. To teach letter sounds, they use goof-proof sentences like "I ran. The man ran. Dan ran." Despite the resemblance to deadly Dick and Jane, the authors claim that such repetitions build remarkable phonic clarity in young minds.

An overemphasis on phonics instruction, though, can make some children miss the meaning of the words they sound out. Recalling Rudolf Flesch's 1955 pro-phonics polemie, Why Johnny Carl Read, Harvard Education Professor Jeanne Chall, a phonics authority, quips that "Soon I can expect to see a book out called Why Robert Can't Understand."

Precisely because textbook publishers mow offer so many alternative methods, the old fuss and fury over reading techniques may be a thing of the past. But the familiar truism remains: for most children, learning in school depends primarily on the caliber of the teacher. Perhaps the greatest danger in the new wealth of reading materials is that it will tempt some schools to spend money on flashy hardware and neglect the job of teaching teachers how to use it effectively.

# On the Up Side of Down

In the words of its president, California's private Riverside University is for "the average guy" who went to work out of high school and later decided to try college. To many of its 1,000 students, Riverside is thus a sort of university of second chances. As it turns out, a star faculty member is also a second-chancer, though hardly the kind academe is used to.

Armed with impressive references, Lawver Charles R. Ashman, 35, joined one other full-time faculty member at Riverside's tiny new law school last fall and did such a good job that in November he was named associate dean. Two months ago, Ashman put the 18month-old school on the edge of the academic map by staging a legal-education conference with speakers like F. Lee Bailey, Melvin Belli and Admiral Joseph McDevitt, the Navy's Judge Advocate General, For Belli, who had lectured before at the school, the conference was climaxed by his appointment as dean emeritus (though he had never

Parole Violator. Amid all this publicity, the Pulitzer prizewinning Riverside Press-Enterprise decided to do a story on the new law school. It soon



ASHMAN & BELLI
Too good to be true?
got a tip suggesting that Dean Ashman

might be too good to be true. The newspaper learned among other things that the University of Tennessee and Oxford University, where Ashman claimed to have studied, had never heard of him

More digging revealed that Ashman had indeed earned a law degree at Tennessee's Cumberland College, but that in 1964, while practicing in Florida, he was convicted of passing bad checks and forced out of the state bar association. Transferred from jail to a state metal hospital, of rom jail to a state metal hospital, of the property of the property

Instead, Ashman got a job teaching political science at California's University of the Pacific in 1968. He left from the process of the Pacific in 1968. He left from the university of the Pacific in 1968. He left from the process of the Pacific in 1969. He left from the process of the Pacific in 1969. The process of the Pacific in 1969. He left from San Francisco businessmen to Jaunch what he called the American Public Affairs Foundation. The process of the Pacific Institute of the Pacific I

representing himself. Riverside University hired Ashman 16 months later.

All in the Family, Riverside President George Holgate's response to the expose was immediate: Ashman will not be fired. "Surely freedom of the press is no license to destroy," wrote Holgate in the school paper. He believes that "professors should feel confidence that once they join the university family, people will stand by them."

ple will stand by them."

Despite Riverside University's confidence in him, Dean Ashman still benefit to the confidence in him, Dean Ashman still sestimate the still the still be stil

# The Scholarship Shrinkage

Squeezed by money problems, U.S. campuses from Yale to Vandrehilt are trimming scholarships for needy students, who now must borrow more, work more or quit college. The University of Pennsylvania is an agonized example. In the past 13 years, scholarships have grown faster than any single text million. They have helped Penn in the past of th

Even though the cuts are still relatively modest, they have incensed Penn's dean of admissions and financial aide, George A. Schlekat, 33, himself a full-scholarship student at Penn twelve vears ago. Last week Schlekat resigned in protest, calling the policy "suicidal." Penn President Martin Meyerson is tightening up sharply in other areas besides scholarships; he is seeking to save by imposing a ban on new faculty hiring. But Schlekat argues that the administration could have made further sacrifices to help needy students, particularly in the university's "rather grand research facilities." Schlekat is certain that the reductions will affect Penn's "heterogeneity

Schlekat and Meyerson agree that the long-range solution is more federal aid for colleges, but that is hardly close at hand. Neither, in fact, is heterogeneity in U.S. higher education. Despite all the recent efforts to enroll minoritygroup students, a forthcoming report by the Ford Foundation says that the number of black students will have to increase by 116% before black and white America have the same proportion of their children in college. For other minorities the gap is still more dramatic. If they are to pull abreast of whites, enrollment of Puerto Ricans will have to grow by 225%, Mexican Americans by 330% and American Indians by 650%.



# MODERN LIVING

# How the Other Half Bathes

THE American bathroom, ever a targest for European wits and sorcheads, has a host of enthusiasts as well; none is more outspoken than Critic Edmund Wilson, who once said: "I have had a good many more uplifting though a property of the enthusiast of the enthusias

the bathroom half-ironically as the "last fortress of the individual, the poor man's club, the working girl's temple of beauty."

It is a great deal more than that for the rich man and the nonworking girl. A renaissance of bathrooms and bathing seems to be in progress rivaling the innovations of the most inventive Roman voluptuaries. This in a country where Benjamin Franklin was considered a radical for his habit of tubbing regularly, where bathing was once considered so alien that Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia debated legislation outlawing the practice as dangerous to health. It is also a country where the President's house had no bathtub at all until 1851

Like Foiryland, Designers such as Sherle Wagner of Manhattan and David Hicks of London stand ready to transform control of the standard of the standard stan

says wagnet. On the case to the control of the cont

Hicks, whose book, David Hicks on Badrooms, is a basic text on the subbest to elieves that bathrooms should be 
elegant and practical. His like of simplienty is reflected in his designs for the 
manual hathroom of Mrs. Harlinas ("Betsay"). Theodoracopulos. He specified 
mirrors on walls and ceilings to "stretch 
the room out and at the same time 
heighten it." For surfaces, he used 
scrubbed stone "because of its rough, ag-

the smoothness of the mirror." Many of the wall mirrors conceal storage closets. To Mrs. Theodoracopulos, the bathroom is "like fairyland."

For Mrs. Charles Revson, whose husband heads the Revlon cosmetics empire, space was not a problem: the bathroom in her Manhattan apartment is 23 feet by 19 feet. All fixtures are made of creamy Italian marble and there are two sun lamps. Mrs. Revson



BATH IN ANCIENT POMPEII Better than a cathedral.

spends a lot of time there. "I am a compulsive bather," she says. "I take three baths a day—one in the morning, one at 5 p.m. and one later if I've gone out, regardless of the time."

Mood Lights, Before he entered a New York hospital last week for treatment of a heart ailment, Jazzman Louis Armstrong joked that he would be "foolish to take a bath" amid his glamorous plumbing because "I would smoke up the glass." Says Mrs. Armstrong: "Redecorating this room made the rest of my house look so shabby that I had to redecorate eyer-thine."

To Polly Bergen (Mrs. Freddie Fields), a bath "is one of the few great luxuries left in life." Her custom-built bathroom (by Frank P. Austin) features an elaborate marble tub with all-but-instant fill, four Jacuzzi water jets, a sauna, and lights that can be dimmed to fit a mood. "It's a place," she says, "where I can forget business concerns, my children's report cards and other worries. My only problem is that sometimes when I've got the tub ready and then leave the room, I come back to find my husband

The Neil Rosenstein family of Los Angeles has another problem. Their house has seven bathrooms, but only one is sumptuous. So father, mother and the three children compete for the one that has a Jacuzzi and a sauna. Ar-

thur Elrod, a professional decorator of Palm Springs, Calif., designed his own bathroom at a cost of around \$22,500. He finds that both he and his clients spend much more time in their bathrooms these days. "Once I get home and into my sauna." says, "I'm so thrilled to be there that I hate to go out." Mr. and Mrs. Walter Stewart, whose bathroom is in a separate building linked to their home by a covered walkway, ordered it designed so that a bather can look out onto a garden, as Mrs. Stewart's daughter, Rosalyn Burton, demonstrates (see color pages). Says Mrs. Stewart: "We wanted to capture a grotto feeling from the rocks and shells we collected along the Big Sur coast.'

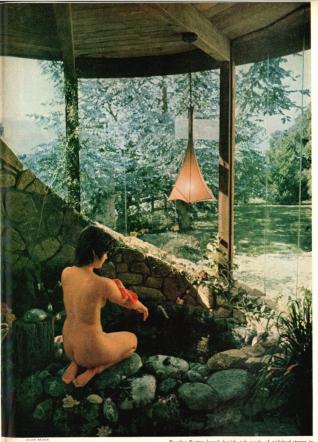
A Fireplace, Too, Designer Hicks has provided himself with a brace of splendid examples. His London bathroom (he calls it his "end-of-the-day room") featheres sauna, refrigerator and hi-fi. His country home's master bathroom has a tub with a custom bookstand and is spotted in the center of a comfortable suffered to the confortable with the confortable with the confortable chairs and a fire-place.

Hicks and his clients are clearly aware that the pleasures of the bathroom transcend simple cleanliness. Consider, for example, the joy of a steely cold slug of vodka after a long hot sauna, or the titillation of sudsy coed splash parties. A

illation of sudsy coed splash parties. A whirlpool bath can be counted on to tone the muscles and raise the spirits, while built-in sun lamps will ran the hide. Given the space, there is no reason at all why parlor games cannot be moved into the bathroom. The relaxing atmosphere could also soften stiff business conferences.

If the bathroom's functions continue

to expand, there will be little need for other rooms. But there is a cautionary note. As amateur doon criers delight in pointing out, the Greek and Roman civilizations went down the drain when their bathing facilities reached a zenith of onulence.



Rosalyn Burton kneels beside tub made of polished stones in her bathhouse in Carmel Valley, Calif.



Jazz Immortal Louis Armstrong shows off hand-carved onyx washbasin with gold-plated fixtures in Corona, N.Y., home.





Designer Arthur Elrod bathes in step-down tub designed for his home near Palm Springs, Calif.



Mrs. Charles Revson of Manhattan, seated near marble tub, is reflected over sink lined with gold leaf.

Mirrors produce multiple images and spacious look in Manhattan bathroom built for Betsy Theodoracopulos.



# THE THEATER

# Laughs That Bleed Truth

With the attrition of metropolitan dialies, the power to influence Manhattan theatergoers lies largely in the hands of one man, the drama critic of the New York Times. Last week a negative notice by Cive Barnes, acted upon in scandalous haste by Co-Producers Joseph Kipness and Larry Kasha, sundered the life of a fine comedy, Oliver Hailey's Fo-ther's Doy, after one performance.

While he relishes he celebrity status. Barnes worries about this degree of power. To mitigate it, he customarily bends over backward to find something to praise even when the show is arrant mon up anything good to say about the play; nor did he have a pleasant word for Halley's previous work, he was a pleasant lie in the nature of comedy, which is the most indigenous of dramatic forms. Barnes was born and reared in England, and while he files to think that upon the play that the play the play

In any event, the ultimate fate of a play depends on the producer. David Merrick has proved that conclusively by keeping plays alive that every critic has panned. As co-producers of human musical replants, Kipness and Kasha are rolling in money. Kipness is donor aretaurant viscous who owns Pier Web and Kasha are rolling in money. Hipness will be a restaurant viscous who owns Pier Vet he and Kasha crawenly folded their theatrical tents in a single night and silently skulked away. Following is an account of the play they killed.

Married couples are as free as fencers. In the thrust and parry, each parters. In the thrust and parry, each partener pinks the other, helping to drain away the anger and frustration that might otherwise fester within and poison the self. But the divorced person shadowboxes with a vivid phantom, the past. He or she is bound to an enemy that cannot be hit or flattened—menovy. For the divorced, recollection is impacted pain. Regrets, bitterness, envy, hate stalk the mind.

To embody this in the heart of a comedy is a tricky feat, but Oliver Hailey has pulled it off wonderfully in Father's Day, and he has achieved a remarkable purgation as well. Here is an evening in the theater suffused with stringing, gut-aching laughter.

Gowky Swon. In Act I a sisterhood of suffering assembles, and more verbal feline ferocity has not gone zinging across a Broadway stage since Clare Boothe Luce wrote The Women. Three divorcees have arranged for their ex-husbands to take from the day. Louise (Brend Vaccaro) is an earthy ex-across with a tongue like a wood file. Marian (Marian Selate) is a gawky swan of a woman for the day of a woman of a w

who can deliver lines with the edgily lethal politiesse of a Boston blueblood. Estelle (Jennifer Salt) is the quintessential waif, an orphan who married an orphan. The three drink, and discuss sex in a way that shows they have nothing

to learn from Dr. Reuben, or "J".

In Act II the husbands appear. With the men present, the atmosphere is less claustrophobic and, if possible, even funnier. One has remarried and another is about to; the third is happy with a bisexual assortment—including his exwife. The men have pretty much dropped their venderta with the past. While the



CAST\* OF "FATHER'S DAY" One performance only.

women are more vitriolic, they seem, at play's end, sadder and more vulnerable, rather like Chekhov's three sisters, to whom a closing mock-reference is made.

Father's Day is a very tough, serious comedy. It has a Manhattan locale, tempo and lingo and might be as perplexing to a middle-class Midwesterner (the Midwest takes a caustic drubbing in the play) as to a Briton. Hailey uses humor as an offensive weapon, much as Albee does in Virginia Wooff.

The defensive use of humor is best exemplified by Neil Simon. It is self-deprecatory humor designed to defuse aggression and guard the self from hurt. Hailey is not like that. He never lets the cascade of laughs blur his characters' profiles or wash away the humanity of their torment. His laughs bleed truth.

Brenda Vaccaro and Marian Seldes have been turning in solid, beautiful jobs of acting season after season. They

Olockwise from top right: Marian Seldes, Brenda Vaccaro, Jennifer Salt, Ken Kercheval, Bill McGuire, Donald Moffat. have never been better than they are in this play. Actor-Director Donald Moffat shapes scenes with style, tact, grace and firmness. As for Hailey, 38, his work ought to still the chant that there are no new American playwrights of note. With scant weeks left in the current theacter year, only a return of Edward Albee to his top form can prevent Faccian play of the season.

T.E. Kalem

# Verbal Pingpong

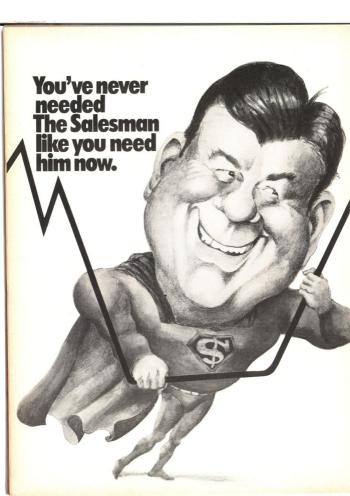
Picture a concert pianist of great technical skill whose fingers race across the keyboard like a ripitde. Suddenly his face turns soulful, as if he were attempting to hang each note in the air like a snowflake. With a brisk, dryly ironic flourish he brings the composition to its close. But through the entire piece,

There you have an approximation of a newly imported British comedy. The Philanthropist. Playwright Christopher Hampton, 24 is witty, clever, debonair, he uses the English language, with you an impressive display of that affection in his fluently idiomatic adaptations of a Dolf's House and Hedda Golber in this season's off-Broadway revivals. The misfortune in his own play is that the passion, conflict and tone of voice of the to say are all but inaudible.

Venus's-Flytrap. Fittingly enough. Philip (Alec McCowen), the hero of The Philanthropist, is a philologist. In Act I. Philip is insouciantly embroiled in a drawing-room-cum-bedroom farce; in Act II. he is mournfully bogged down in a talky self-analysis of con-siderable pathos. This makes for a jarcompensating illumination of meaning. Act I is fun and naughty games. In it, Philip ends up in bed with a Venus's-flytrap of a girl. His fiancée Celia (Jane Asher) pairs up with a cynical aphorist out of early Aldous Huxley. This hedonist with a literate leer acquires luxuriant narcissistic finesse from the performance of Victor Spinetti.

At the end, Philip seems to personity a biblical adage in reverse. He cannot love his neighbor (or his flancels) the himself because he does not love himself. Celia leaves him, which makes redeems the verning is McCowen's acting. He has a feel for the role that is assensitive as a afternacker's fingertips. At one moment he is the bemused absent-minded professor, at another the substantial professor, at another in and at still another, an anguished human with a parched heart.

In its glittering virtuosity, this performance is very close to those of Gielgud and Richardson in Home. The Queen has not yet dubbed him Sir Alec McCowen, but the theater has its own list of knights, and he is one of them.



When times are good everybody's a salesman.

Even a package sitting on a shelf or a car preening itself in a showroom.

But when times are not so good, selling is harder. You start getting back to basics. Like a salesman who sells.

Godfrey sells.

If there's one thing about Arthur Godfrey that everybody agrees on, it's that Godfrey sells.

He works a kind of one-to-one magic with his listeners. It's the difference between a "personality" doing a selling job and a guy you know and trust telling you about something he likes.

Godfrey is as close as anyone's ever come to the most perfect of all advertising media: word of mouth from a friend. The people who listen to him really

listen to him.

That's what Godfrey can do. The why is harder to pin down. It goes beyond what he says and

gets to what he is.

He's a man who makes his friends (and some enemies) in much the same

way. By saying and doing what he thinks is right.

He has an instinct for the contemporary. So much so that he's usually into

He has an instinct for the contemporary. So much so that he's usually into the current trend before it becomes a current trend. Long before man's inhumanity to his planet had become a matter of national concern, Arthur Godfrey had become a one-man Sierra Club.

And he was looking out for the consumer long before it was even called consumerism.

"I put myself in the buyer's place. The guy I'm selling something to is the one I'm watching out for all the time."

one I'm watching out for all the time."
"I don't want him to get taken."
So he won't sell a product unless the

So he won't sell a product unless the claims can be substantiated. And he's made it pretty clear that he won't sell anything that might pollute the air, water or land. He's funny that way. He sells what he thinks is right, in his own way, without puffery.

What has The Salesman sold? What hasn't he?

You begin to wonder how many homes in this country have been almost entirely stocked by Godfrey.

From the faucets in the bathroom to the dish of dog food in the kitchen.

The drugs and personal things on the shelves in the bathroom. The cans and packages in the kitchen, even the mason jars if you can your own. The appliances: refrigerator, oven, freezer and the food that goes into them.

The dictionary in the den. The organ in the living room. The stereo cartridges in the tape deck. And the toys and games in the playroom. The bedding in the bedroom.

And the garden tools in the shed. And when moving day arrives, all this may well go via the long-range moving company they heard about from Godfrey.

With an overnight stop for the family at a motel chain he's told them about. Godfrey's loyal listeners tend to

breed loyal advertisers.

The advertisers who buy Godfrey seem to stay awhile,

His 1970 sponsor list of 27 companies represents an aggregate of 86 years of participation, an average of more than three years for each company.

The mason jars we mentioned before, for example: Kerr Glass Jars, Caps on Lids. They've been on Godfrey for nine years. And they've been nowhere else. Arthur Godfrey is their advertising.

For other advertisers Godfrey is part of a larger, varied media mix.

They keep coming back to The Salesman. And for the most unsentimental of reasons. He sells.

What's more appropriate for our ad about a man who sells than a coupon.

So here's a coupon.

Or, if you want to speed up the process, call Ben Lochridge at the CBS Radio Network, 765-4321 (ext. 3317). He's a salesman, too.

But not The Salesman.

I want to sell
something
Business isn't as good as it should be. Budgets have been cut but we still must advertise. What can Godfrey do for me?
NAME
TITLE

CBS RADIO NETWORK

# RELIGION

# The Anti-Abortion Campaign

They are a mixed bag, but a growing one. Conservative Roman Catholics teamed up with a sizable number of liberals. Also included: the Salvation Army and the Mormons. Greek Orthodoxy and Orthodox Jewry, hard-shell fundamentalists and a hard-nosed minority of liberal Protestant ethicists. They are only beginning to realize that they have a common cause: opposition to what they fear is a nationwide trend toward abortion-on-demand.

So far it has been an inchoate campain, waged mainly by local ad hoc committees thrown together 1) to resist proposed state legislation liberalizing abortion laws, or 2) to fight back when a state court strikes down existing anti-abortion statutes. But there are signs that the campaign is gaining momentum, direction and some critical successes. Easily the most impressive victory to date has been won, at least for the moment, by the Illinois Rights-ol-Life Committee in a clash with the American Civil Liberties Union over the constitution.

tutionality of the Illinois abortion law. Last year the A.C.L.U. challenged the constitutionality of the 1905 Illinois statute, which allows abortion only to preserve the mother's life. Then Dr. Bart Heffernan, a Roman Catholic obstetrician and head of the Right-to-Life group, entered the case on behalf of the state's unborn children. Heffernan's brief argued that overturning the law would deprive the unborn of life without due process. He noted that since the 18th century courts have recognized the fetus' right to inherit or to share a trust, and that modern developments in tort law have recognized suits for injury on behalf of the fetus. But a federal court

# Making the Ethical Case Against Abortion

THE campaign to reform abortion laws in the U.S. has made the justifications for abortion well known. There are the dramatic cases: pregnancies through rape or incest, the potentially deformed child, the mother whose mental health is seriously endangered. The Women's Liberation movement has made the confrontation total by declaring the asolute gifth of abortion is simply the right to assert an order of values: their own lives and well-being over the lives of the unborn. Now the forces opposing abortion.

Now the forces opposing abortion are developing their own battery of so-phisticated ethical arguments. Some are doubled to the obligate positions updated; others borrow from Western legal tradibled to the observed their control of their control of

The most single-minded and conservative of the three is the work of a modern Thomistic philosopher, Georgetown University's Germain Grisez. His hefty book, Abortion: The Myths, the Realand the Arguments (Corpus, \$12.50; paperback, \$6.95), is chiefly valuable as a contemporary exposition of the traditional Roman Catholic stand against all abortions. Grisez concedes only that the law need not forbid abortion in the classic case of saving a mother's life (even the strictest U.S. laws have generally allowed that exception) and possibly in a pregnancy due to rape. Where liberalization is inevitable, he suggests that legislators work to hedge it with restrictive amendments. No such unyielding orthodoxy runs

through the seven essays in John T. Noo-

nan Ir's ecumenical collection. The Moculty of Abortion: Legal and Historical Perspectives (Harvard, \$8.95). Noonan, a canon law expert, was widely praised for a historical study of contraception that demonstrated how Carbolic teaching on the subject could change. But Catholic teaching on abortion, he insists, is far less flexible. His contributors offer a broad front in favor of the unborn.

Perhaps the most crucial problem dealt with in the essays is whether the young fetus is "tissue," as is often argued by those favoring abortion, or 'human life," as abortion foes contend. One line of reasoning offered by Princeton Ethicist Paul Ramsey, a Methodist, is pointedly modern. Ramsey contends that science itself now offers evidence of very early "human" characteristics in the fetus, such as discernible brain waves at eight weeks. The findings of genetics, says Ramsey, suggest a much earlier date. Since the individual's unique genetic code, or genotype, is established at the moment of fertilization, the zygote itself-the fertilized egg-should be considered "human."

Hord Cores. Other theories place "humanness" at the time of implantation of the zygote in the uterus, or even later in the fetal development. It is a question critical to the general debate. If ethiciss establish humanness at fertilization, then birth control methods that prevent implantation control methods that prevent implantation of the properties of the properties

Another of Noonan's contributors, German Redemptorist Father Bernard Häring, a moral theologian at Rome's Accademia Alfonsiana, urges Catholics to avoid squabbling with others over such "hard cases" as the victim of rape

or the endangered mother and concentrate on the "large areas of agreement" they share with less dogmatic foes of abortion. Many who would permit abortion in exceptional cases would agree, for instance, on the immorality of abortion for mere convenience.

Permissive Code. In his disciplined, balanced study, Abortion: Law, Choice and Morality (Macmillan, \$14.95), Daniel Callahan strives to preserve the ideal of the sanctity of life within a permissive legal framework. Dispassionately examining all the arguments and options, the Roman Catholic intellectual and former editor of Commonweal tries to avoid what he calls "the mentality of the crusader." The problem, he argues, is priorities: the church's heart is in the right place in defending the sanctity of human life, but the bias too heavily favors fetal life alone. Yet he rejects abortion-on-request because it is based on women's rights alone.

Callahan accepts the morality of contraception and urges that a cheap and easy method be found to obviate the resort to abortion. As an interim solution, he proposes a legal code permitting relatively easy abortion: on request up to twelve weeks, thereafter only for "serious" reasons. He would also provide extensive counseling and a "conscience clause" for medical personnel who do not want to take part in abortions. Paralleling the permissive law, on the other hand, Callahan proposes a vigorous public campaign encouraging contraception and discouraging abortion and a social program offering alternatives such as maternal care and child support. Callahan argues persuasively that the fetus' right to its "human life must be defended and contends that his "middle way" is its best defense.

GERMAIN GRISEZ







# We didn't design our new giant computer system for you. You designed it for you.

One way to design a new computer system is to consider what the competition is doing, then do the same. It's called 'filling the line.' We thought of a better way. We considered the then designed our newest large-scale, very high performance computer system, the Univac ® 110. to fall their needs.

We call our design Adaptive Architecture, because it consists of compatible modules, like building blocks.

You start with just as much giant computer as you need. As your needs change, you can rearrange or adapt components. And you can add system units, peripherals, whole new sections. Even double up on vital elements, such as central memory.

The new Univac 1110 is fast. The basic system performs 3 million calculations per second. That's 300% more computer power than the next most powerful computer in the Univac 1100 family.

So, in a manner of speaking, the Univac 1110 is designed by you, to start where you are now, and to evolve as you grow. Whether you use it for basic business or scientific computing. It isn't hard to be ingenious when you have ingenious customers.

### How we made our electric typewriter a straight-shooter.

In every electric typewriter but our Remington electric, the underscore type arm is located off to one side in the typewriter basket. So when

the underscore key is hit, the type arm must whip through a sharp angle to reach the paper. With just a bit of wear, this results in an underscore

line that jogs unevenly across the page.

In our Remington electric, we designed a special underscore mechanism that allows the type arm to strike from the center of the type basket while keeping its

standard location on the keyboard. It strikes the paper straight on, producing the sharpest, straightest underscore line in the business.

An obvious improvement. But apparently, only obvious to us and our customers.

> Small garbage. It can help solve a big garbage problem. One big city like New

York generates more garbage than hundreds of smaller cities. It's difficult to find space for it. One of our customers is helping diminish the problem in one huge New York apartment complex housing nearly 30,000 people. He's using our Vickers hydraulies in automatic compaction systems which are being installed in each tower

of apartment dwellers.

In this system, a hydraulic ram with 25,000 pounds of force crushes refuse into compact, cylindrical slugs, which are then inserted into plastic bags.

The compacted refuse in one bag equals the contents of four to six garbage cans. It takes one-quarter to one



sixth less space in the dump, and in the removal truck.
We applaud ingenuity wherever we find it. We're glad
it's at work using some of our "muscle" to make one environmental problem a little smaller.

Sperry Rand is a multinational corporation. We manufacture and market information management systems; industrial, agricultural and mechanical equipment; guidance and control systems and consumer products through out the free world. Though you may know us by our trademarks, New Holland, Remington, Remington Rand, Sperry, Univac, Vickers; think of usas Sperry Rand. We do.





# Catch a falling star.

The stars of tomorrow. They're the young people of today.

For the most part, they're facing today's problems. And rising above them.

But what of falling stars? What of those who seem bent on destroying everything, including themselves?

The advertising industry is right in the thick of the establishment. But because we are a part of the communications unit of the establishment, we have the opportunity to bring about understanding, to bring about change.

And we find that our strength comes from the young people who make up this business. Voices of dissent who joined the establishment. proved their capabilities and now are acting to improve a very disorderly world

If you are young and anary, consider joining the communications industry. Consider using your talents to effect change through magazines and newspapers and broadcasting stations and advertising agencies.

Using the tools that exist to accomplish the jobs that must he done makes more sense than destroying the only tools we have. overturned the Illinois law as "unconstitutionally vague" because it did not clearly specify what acts were violations. There was a brief surge of abortions in the state's hospitals, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, ruling on a request from Heffernan, issued a stay against the lower court's ruling last month, effectively preventing further abortions until the full Supreme Court hears the case.

Such Right-to-Life committees are springing up all over the U.S., as are many similar groups: Massachusetts has a Value-of-Life movement, Houston a fundamentalist group called the Solid Rock League of Women, California a Coalition for Life, Most of the organizations share similar methods: lobbying against liberalized abortion legislation and spreading anti-abortion publicity. Often there is picketing and a dramatic -to some, shocking-display. Last week when 400 abortion foes demonstrated outside a California Medical Association meeting in Anaheim, some carried bags of aborted fetuses. On another occasion, a Right-to-Life spokesman turned up at an abortion discussion in San Fernando, Calif., with a fetus in a bottle. Commented one member of the pro-abortion group: "If I had known props were in order. I would have brought a casket with a

dead mother in it.

Other organizations focus on different kinds of action. In Washington and Atlanta, largely female groups calling themselves "Birthright" operate antiabortion telephone hot lines, counseling troubled pregnant women and directing them to agencies offering special care. Chance of a Lifetime, also in Washington, distributes a bumper sticker: ABORTION IS NOT HEALTHY FOR CHIL-DREN AND OTHER LIVING THINGS. A Pittsburgh woman, Mrs. Norbert Winter, 36, heads a group of 1,000 called "Women Concerned for the Unborn Child." Says Mrs. Winter: "Young mothers are the most logical defenders of unborn children. We believe-with the Women's Liberation groups-that a woman has the right to make decisions about her own body, but we also know that the child is not our own body.

Sons of Thunder, Some of the harshest words against abortion have come from church spokesmen. After New York State passed one of the most liberalized abortion laws in the country last year, the Roman Catholic bishops of the state warned Catholics in the medical profession that participation in an abortion would earn them automatic excommunication. In Boston, Archbishop Humberto Medeiros caused an ecumenical fuss by calling abortion "the new barbarism." Yet the conservative Protestant journal Christianity Today went further, describing abortion-on-demand as "mass homicide." Such language, argues Lawyer John Noonan, an articulate foe of abortion (see box), obscures the issues. "Abortion is not murder; it is abortion," he says, "just as manslaughter is not murder; it is manslaughter.'

None of the angry words have equaled the angry action of the ultra-right Sons Thunder in Washington, Dressed in khaki shirts and red berets, they invaded a Washington clinic last May to protest the abortions performed there; among the invaders was L. Brent Bozell, brother-in-law of William F. Buckley and, along with Buckley's sister Patricia, an editor of Triumph magazine. Triumph's editorial support of such activism caused William Buckley last week to write that "such analyses discredit the anti-abortion position." It is the gentler arts of persuasion, so far, that have won some victories for the antiabortion forces. Liberalized abortion has been thwarted either in the courts or legislatures in Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri,



PROTESTERS IN ANAHEIM, CALIF. Life at both ends of the spectrum.

Ohio, North and South Dakota. In-

diana, Kentucky and Massachusetts. Though Catholics dominate in most anti-abortion groups, the campaign has gone well beyond sectarian boundaries. The California Mobilization for the Unnamed is headed by an agnostic Jew. The chief of the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life is a Methodist, Dr. Fred Mecklenburg, The Rev. Charles Carroll, an Episcopal priest who is chaplain to the University of California Medical School at San Francisco, says his involvement is a natural outgrowth of his other liberal beliefs, "Men who have been with me in Selma and who opposed war with me and have known me to speak out against capital punishment could not quite figure out how I could get into this conservative bag by being against abortion," he says. "But to me all these positions fit into one bag: you can't respect life at one end of the spectrum and not respect it at the other."

THE GRISWOLD ESHLEMAN COMPANY CHICAGO - NEW YORK - PITTSBURGH - BRUSSELS AMSTERDAM - PARIS - MILAN - DUSSELDORF

# John Hertz laughed at the Wright brothers. And vice versa.



And when they traded dreams, as most young boys do, they all got a big laugh.

"Fly?" young Hertz would howl. "You're pulling my leg. The brothers didn't do much to boost

John's ego either. "Rent a what?" they used

You see, in those days the very idea of renting cars seemed as preposterous as building an airplane.

In the years that followed Orville and Wilbur made their historic flight at Kitty Hawk. And much to the awe of the Ameri-

Today Hertz is the number 1 rent a car company, serving nearly every major airport in the world. And some that aren't so major. Airports that wouldn't exist if it weren't for John Hertz's boyhood friends.

And with the good, clean Fords we rent and the special rates we offer, getting to and from these airports is not only convenient but economical as well.

Which only goes to show how wrong the Wright brothers were about John Hertz. And vice versa

Hertz

# BUSINESS

# Houses: The Year of the Big Buy

► "At this time last year I had sold exactly one house," says Pittsburgh Builder Vincent Amore, "This year I've already signed up \$800,000 worth of

▶ "We sold only 18 houses all last year," reports Realtor John Rinello of Greenwich, Conn., "but we made 14 sales in the first four days of March alone. People have lost their fears.

▶ "In the last three weeks, our sales have doubled in just about all markets," adds Richard Wasserman, president of ITT Levitt Inc., the nation's

largest home builder. After more than a year of sluggish-

Fewer Frills, Seldom have so many fundamental forces lined up simultaneously to support a rise in housing. Young adults are forming families at a rate some 40% higher than during the 1950s and early 1960s, and hundreds of thousands of them have moved in with relatives, creating a pent-up demand. Home and apartment vacancies in metropolitan areas remain close to a 15-year low.

The main source of buyer enthusiasm is falling mortgage-interest rates. From a peak of 8½% or 9% last summer, rates on conventional home loans have dropped to 7% in some cities and 61%

composition roofs instead of cedar shakes. The company also eliminated the fireplace and air conditioning as standard items and put less costly appliances in the kitchen. Builders are reducing the size of the plot and saving on sewers and water lines by putting up townhouses and apartments, which are sold as condominiums. In Chicago, Dayton and some West Coast areas, four-dwelling condominiums-or "quadrominiums"-have become the fastest selling form of housing.

Prices Down and Up. As a result of all the efforts to economize, the average price of a built-for-sale house in



QUADROMINIUM HUNTING NEAR CHICAGO

ness, the housing market is expanding so rapidly that even experts who had been expecting a 1971 shelter boom are somewhat astonished. Buyers are quickly grabbing up not only new homes but also used houses, often paying just what the seller asks. The Nixon Administration has been counting on home and apartment building as a major force to help revive the U.S. economy. Housing starts fell 21% last year, to 1,463,-000. The Administration prevented the drop from growing larger by giving the building industry massive injections of mortgage credit and subsidies, which produced a fourth-quarter bulge in construction.

This year the Administration expects a 20% gain, to at least 1,750,000. Last week the Commerce Department reported that the annual rate of starts climbed to 1.715,000 in February, up from 1,306,000 in the same month a year earlier. George Romney, the ebullient Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, calls housing "the brightest spot on the economic horizon." the surge in sales continues-a substantial if-builders may reach Romney's target of 2,000,000 starts.

Off the floor and going through the roof. in a scattered few, the swiftest decline in decades. This decline has had the double effect of reducing the buyer's monthly payments and enabling people with lower incomes to qualify for mortgages under the usual standards demanded by lenders. This is the picture on a \$25,-

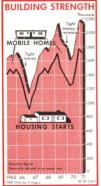
Interest	Monthly	Income Needed To Qualify \$10,066		
Rate	Payment			
81%	\$201.32			
7%	176.70	8,835		
I set mon	th the Federal	Housing Ad-		

ministration gave the market a lift by cutting the ceiling on its home loans 71% to 7%. Said Irving Rose, president of Detroit's Advance Mortgage Corp.: "It was the buying signal that everybody had been awaiting.

Builders have brought new homes within financial reach of millions more customers by erecting cheaper, smaller models with fewer frills. To chop the price from \$35,990 to \$29,900 for its least expensive home in one San Fernando Valley subdivision, Kaufman and Broad (1970 sales: \$152 million) substituted vinvl tile for carpeting and used

the U.S. fell from \$25,100 in December 1969 to \$22,300 last December. People who want houses or apartments would do well to shop around now, because prices are likely to rise again. Secretary Romney warned last month that the price of a typical new home may well be forced up by \$2,500 over the next three years, merely to cover the cost of construction-wage increases. The cost of land for FHA homes has risen 80% during the past five years; in Southern California, builders now must pay about \$30,000 an acre for raw land. Volatile lumber prices have soared by as much as 42% since December, and some builders foresee an additional 20% increase within a few months. Rene Henry Jr., executive secretary of the Council of Housing Producers, says: We may be on the verge of the greatest inflation ever in housing costs.

One hope for avoiding that is to mass produce more homes in factories, where wages are far lower than those of on-site craftsmen. Both mobile home manufacturers and stick-by-stick builders are moving into the construction of modular homes, which are composed of room-sized, factory-finished units that



are hauled to a sile by rail or truck and swam; into place by cranse. ITT Levit has just completed a factory at Batter Levit has just completed a factory at Batter Levit has the creek, which, that can turn out 6,000 modular houses a year. In Fournamentaling houses that combine the techniques of both modular and mobile manking houses that combine the techniques of both modular and mobile manking houses, which was the same than the same thad the same than the same than the same than the same than the sa

Mobile homes seem likely to remain the nation's main source of inexpensive new shelter; the average price of a 12ft, by 60-ft, mobile is only \$6,050. Shipments of mobiles declined slightly to 400,000 units in 1970, but manufacturers expect a rebound this year, because of falling interest rates and the new availability of FHA and Veterans Administration loans for the purchase of mobile homes on comparatively easy terms. Although four out of five are never moved from their first location, mobiles are not included in the Government's count of housing starts. If they were, about half of the nation's shortage of low-price new housing would disappear at a single statistical stroke.

Pressure from Subsidy. In its zeal to help more families obtain cheap shelter, the Government has become the dominant influence over both the cost and the amount of housing built in the U.S. Last year the production of subsidized units for low- and moderate-in-come families doubled to 470,000 dwellings. The Administration expects the

total to increase to 500,000 this year. Builders are rushing to cash in on the enormous market that they can tap through subsidy programs. Under Section 235 of the 1968 Housing Act, the Government can pay all but 1% of the interest rate on each buyer's mortgage. Typical example: helped by the Government, a family of four with \$375 a month pretax income can buy a \$15,150 three-bedroom ranch home from Builder Ray Ellison of San Antonio for \$200 down and \$75 a month, including fire insurance and realty taxes. To buy the same house, a family whose income exceeds the Section 235 limits (\$875 a month) would have to stand \$600 in down payments plus closing costs, and the monthly payments would be \$132.

Critics correctly argue that the subsidies are "buy now, pay later" devices that ultimately could cost taxpayers billions of dollars a year. The mortgage loans for them run for as long as 40 years, and every house that was subsidized in 1970 will also be subsidized for years to come; meanwhile, the number of federally aided houses grows greatly every year. By 1978, the Government expects that total subsidies for housing will increase by more than 500% to some \$6 billion annually. Moreover, by adding half a million subsidized units a year to housing output already a source of worry to inflation fighters, the Government itself has become a major contributor to the pressures that push up costs. In the wellintentioned process of making homes cheaper to rent or buy, Washington is driving up the price of housing for everybody.

# AUTOS

# The Steam Engine That Might

In the view of many Americans, the awesome edifice of modern technology has become more a millstone than a spire. And the internal-combustion engine, which propelled an adoring U.S.

public to the forefront of the 20th century, has become the critics' primary target. They indict it for polluting the air and disturbing the peace. The fuel that it burns has presented Texas oil barons and Middle Eastern potentates with generous profits, but there is growing public pressure for some alternative kind of engine.

Surprisingly, one of the most talkedabout substitutes is the old-fashioned steam engine, which enabled the Stanley Steamer to reign briefly in the early part of the century as queen of the road. The steamer was dethorned because it was costly to buy, its water boilier required constant replenishment, and it was slow to start. Today, in corporate laboratories and amateur workout the start of th

Chatter and Hiss. The Government is becoming involved. The Environmental Protection Agency has just awarded a \$570,000 Seam-engine-development contract to a small firm in Newton. Mass. called Steam Engine Systems, or SES. Smallar contract por engines using organic fluids like fluronol instead of water have gone to Califfornia's Aerojet-General Corp. and Thermo Electron of Waltham, Mass. The environmental agency expects to hold a competitive runnoff by year's end to de-insultitional Telederal money.

SES has already put together an experimental 100-hp, steam engine with support from Mobil Oil, which is interested in the lubricating problems of the steam of the steam of the steam of the headed a 1967 federal study group, which concluded that a return to the steam engine was indeed possible. Morse says that theoriecially a steamer could use any kind of het, americ, but he price fers kerosene. The fuel is not exploded inside the cylinder as it is in the internalcombustion engine but is burned in an



STANLEY STEAMER (CA. 1910)

# An old institution is putting new life into housing stocks.

A lot of investors must be thinking there's no place like housing.

Some housing stocks have doubled in the last 9 months.

We're usually suspicious of stocks that move that fast. But this time we think there's more to it than speculative fever. In fact, we believe that housing could become a new growth industry.

One reason we say that is the trend in marriages. Last year, a record 2 million couples joined hands. Fifty percent more than a decade ago.

Few of those couples want to live with their in-laws. And the recent drop in mortgage rates has made it easier to buy a house.

Bullish as that sounds, our analysts think another trend could do even more for housing over the long term.

The rising tide of Federal help.

During the fiscal year ended June 30,1970, the Administration provided enough funds to cover 58 percent of all mortgage loans. A lot more than just a couple of years ago.

That's going to help a lot because housing construction has been held back by a periodic lack of mortgage money. But with the Government narrowing the money gap, we think the stage is set for fast and steady growth.

If you'd like to see our latest recommendations, talk with a Merrill Lynch Account Executive. He can tell you about the stocks we've picked in home building, ap-

pliances, furniture, and

other housing related lines.
Stocks that we think could show
good gains in the months and years ahead.

If we're right, it won't mean we can judge the investment significance of every new trend. Nobody can. But we do have twice as many

analysts working on it as any other broker.

We figure that puts the odds in our favor.

Merrill Lynch: We look for the trends.

external combustion chamber at atmospheric pressure. As a result it gives off much lower concentrations of toxic gases than present machines. Because there are no cylinder explosions, the steamer is fairly quiet, merely chattering and hissing instead of roaring like internal-combustion engines.

No Tanks. Under the terms of the new contract, SES has a year to produce a design for a 100-h.p. engine that could power a five-passenger car. American Motors has agreed to do an engineering analysis and help in adapting the engine for automotive use. To ensure that the car will not resemble a tank, the entire propulsion system cannot weigh more than 1,600 lbs., v. 1,300 lbs. for a conventional medium-sized car. Yet the system must be able to thrust the car from zero to 60 m.p.h. in 13 sec., drive it up a 5% grade at 60 m.p.h. and give it a top speed of 80 m.p.h. To make the engine marketable, the company must also find a way to lessen the danger of freeze-ups in frigid weather and the problem of quickly get-

ting up steam to start. SES staffers

have only to glance out their windows

for inspiration. Company offices are sep-

arated by a small stream from the site

of the original Stanley Steamer works.



RALPH SAUL Underwriting a bright future.

# WALL STREET Time for a Switch

In his 4½ years as American Stock Exchange president, Ralph Southey Saul was the most effective and innovative leader of any major exchange. He pioneered in helping member firms over problems caused by high volume, and he oversaw the automation of exchangefloor functions. When President Nixon recently went searching for a new chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the position was offered to Saul. He turned it down. Last week Saul startled just about everyone by taking another job. He will switch from the Amex presidency to the vice chairmanship of the First Boston Corp. Why did Saul shift? There is con-

Why did Saul shift? There is considerable talk that he is wisely moving out just when the exchanges are beginning to face enormous problems, no-tably competition from automated stock trading and the difficulties that will be caused by the introduction, on April or negotiated rates on big trades. In his new job, Saul, 48, seems to be in line to move up quickly to one of the two long partial rates of the control of the trades of the control of the con

Yet Saul was interested in more than his bright future at First Boston. As he confided to friends, the new job will give him a chance to build more financial security and add a new facet to his many-sided experience in the securities business. He has already held high positions on the SEC staff and with Investors Diversified Services, the nation's largest mutual-fund group; at First Boston, he will help run the nation's biggest underwriter. Once he has accumulated some wealth and more experience. Saul would be willing to reenter public service, perhaps with the SEC. Why, then, did he reject the recent SEC offer? Friends figure that the Administration has little desire to turn the SEC into a tough, decisive agency -and Ralph Saul would not be willing to head anything less than that.



For nine months, the stock market has raced relentlessly uphill from its grim low, advancing more than 40% in that period, and some Wall Street seers have been predicting an inevitable pause. But early last week, like a longdistance runner gaining a second wind, the market burst ahead with fresh energy. The Dow Jones industrial average posted its biggest daily gain of the year, leaping 9.86 points and closing above the psychological barrier of 900 for the first time in 21 months. For the week, the Dow rose 15 points to close at 913. Stocks on the American Exchange also made impressive gains.

The market's steep and prolonged rise still leaves it vulnerable to a set-back. A jarring bit of news could stampede investors into a rush of profit taking. Nonetheless, optimists see the climb continuing, and many are talking about cracking the long-anticipated 1,000 level on the Dow.

Leading last week's broad advance were stocks of companies in retailing. television, oil, tobacco and electronics. High technology securities, especially those of the computer manufacturers, did well. Many of the blue chip and reliable glamour stocks have already been swept up in the sharp recovery and are no longer bargains. Thus, investors are now moving into less stable issues; potentially dangerous speculation is on the rise. Small investors continue to shy away from the market, and institutions remain by far the big buyers. They are pouring more of their daily cash inflow into the market than

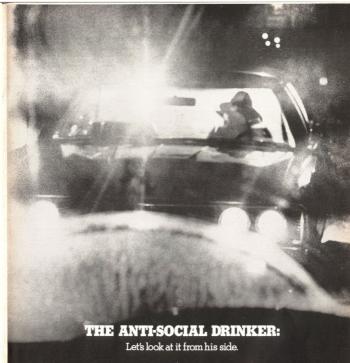


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"DO YOU KNOW WHAT YOUR GENERATION
WILL SEE, YOUNG FELLOW? YOUR GENERATION
WILL SEE THE DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
BREAK THROUGH THE 2000 LEVEL."

at any time in the past two years. A number of factors are contributing to the market's advance. The persistent descent of interest rates is deflecting capital out of fixed-income investments and into stocks. The upsurge in the market itself creates a buoyant atmosphere for investing. Mildly improving corporate profits add to the sense that business is becoming better. Still, in the view of some analysts, the market has run ahead of economic reality. Henry M. Farrell, portfolio manager for the First National Bank of Columbia, S.C., contends that prices for many stocks are discounting 1972 and 1973 earnings. "The way things are going," he says, "we may soon be paying for 1974 profits before we know what 1971 is all about.

Prospects for 1971 are not exceptionally strong. True, housing starts and steel and auto sales are up, though automakers are scaling down their prediction that 10 million cars will be sold this year. In general, the economy continues to limp.

Lead into Gold. The market's rise is based largely on hope. Says Peter Vlachos. Drevfus Leverage Fund's manager: "The market is now anticipating that the Administration's reflationary measures will work, that full employment will be restored, and that inflation will not return to its former gallop." Investors figure that if the economy continues to lag and drag, the Administration will have to reduce taxes (see page 82). Sifted through this kind of faith, even leaden news is transformed into gold. Investors even took an optimistic view of last week's report that the industrial production index declined from 165.4 in January to 164.8 in February. They reasoned that this would forestall any change in the Federal Reserve Board's moderately expansive money policy.



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een crims an hour.

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compulsive problem drinker will cause
most of them. most of then

Unless we do something. Do something Unises we do scmething. Do somethin like support the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration's new countermeasures program. In objectives are to make sure the compulsive problem drinker is (1) identified and apprehended. (3) included in the National Safety Safe

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STATE FARM MUTUAL AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE COMPANY

### MONEY

# The Rush to Repay

Ordinarily, bankers keep their charges for borrowing in lockstep with those of rival lenders. But when the Chase Manhattan Bank initiated the latest round of interest-rate reductions two weeks ago, other bankers grumbled that it was too much too soon. The Chase sliced its prime rate by a fat 1%, from 51% to 51%. It was the tenth drop in the prime since June 1969, when it was at an alltime high of 81%, and the eighth reduction in the past four months. Instead of going along as usual, other bankers reluctantly lowered their prime rates by only half as much, to 51%. Last week, however, the rate cutters triumphed: major banks in New York, Chicago and San Francisco posted a 51% prime rate. Most moneymen are betting that rates

will be bit further. "The prime rate will probably go to 5%", predicts John Bunting, president of First Pennsylvania Banking & Trust Co. One reason is that other short-term interest rates have fallen even more sharply. The yield on three-month Treasury bills has dropped from a peak of about 8% a year ago to just above 5%; commercial paper is down from nearly 9% in January 1970

to less than 31%

Several commercial banks on the West Coast and elsewhere have also reduced the interest that they pay on pass-book savings accounts from the legal limit of 41% to 49%. Those reductions could increase bank profits by 10% or 12% a year. Still, the trend may be slow to spread, In many cities, including New York, competing mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations show no sign of reducing their 5% rate on passbook savings.

Block That Squeeze. The phenomenal decline of loan interest rates shows that the price of money remains highly sensitive to supply and demand. Banks are flooded with funds because the Federal Reserve Board has been expanding the money supply, but few companies want to borrow while business remains slow. Instead, corporations are floating longterm bond issues in order to raise funds to repay short-term loans that carry last year's steep rates. This month's offerings are expected to set a new record of \$4.6 billion, topping the previous peak of \$3 billion last May. Company treasurers are eager to stretch out the maturity of their debts so that they will not risk financial trouble if there is another sudden cash squeeze like the one that followed last year's Penn Central bankruptey. "Too many corporations had close calls," explains Salomon Bros. Economist Henry Kaufman. "They want more flexibility.

One consequence of the rush into bonds is that rates on long-term corporate issues have rebounded from a January low of 6.8% to about 7½%. The extra cost deters few companies. They borrow when they need it, and

not because the rates are down," says Economist Tilford Gaines, of New York's Manufacturers Hanover Trust

Dilemma for Policymakers, Tumbling short-term rates in the U.S. are promoting a new flow of "hot money" into Britain and especially West Germany, where interest levels are considerably higher. Central banks in both countries may be forced to fight the unwanted influx of dollars by reducing interest rates, even though that would aggravate inflation. The transatlantic money tide also creates a dilemma for the Federal Reserve. The board might logically lower its discount rate to keep it in line with falling prime rates, but that step would only increase the dangerous deficit in the U.S. balance of payments by encouraging more dollars to go abroad. If the board takes no action, that will be a signal that the long slide in U.S. interest rates has about reached its end.

reached its end. Nuy

JOHNSON AT OAKLAND AIRPORT Smilin' Jack meets the Red Baron.

# EXECUTIVES

# This Plane for Hire

While studying at Chicago's Roosevelt University in the early 1966s, James L. Johnson landed a part-time job with an aircraft-financing firm and became entranced with flying. By the time he was 23, he was vice president in charge of a new leasing operation established by the finance company, which was owned by the charge of the company, which was owned by the charge of the char

skies, Johnson set out three years ago to establish the first chain of franchised rent-a-plane stations across the country. That operation has been hampered

by a lack of capital, and though it is yo no means out of the clouds, the visibility of late has markedly improved. Johnson's company—Lease-A-Plane International—had revenues of \$3,500,000 from operations and sales of used air-craft last year, and it has recently moved into the black. Most important, it has just closed a deal to lease \$5.5 million Trans Linno Copp. a Chicago-based conglomerate that specializes in leasing railroad tank carse.

Right Identity. With this boost, Johnson, who is now the firm's president at the age of 29, hopes to expand his franchised locations from the present elevent o as many as 30 by year's end. Lease-A-Plane has stations spanning from Fort Lauderdale, Fla., to Van Nuys, Calif. Last week it opened stasset tions in St. Louis and Columbus.

From each franchise operator, the company gets a \$10,000 fee and a 5% annual royalty on gross revenues. Lease-A-Plane supplies the aircraft, but each local operator must put up \$50,000 to \$75,000 within a year to buy an equity on a fleet of about eight Cessnas,

Pipers and Beeches.

There are 733,000 licensed pilots in the U.S. and 129,000 light aircraft available for them to use. Most of the pilots cannot afford to buy a plane, and renting them is not always easy. Outside of Lease-A-Plane, the aircraft-rental field is a crazy quilt of widely varying rates, generally casual maintenance and erratic availability of aircraft. Says Johnson, a moderately mod dresser who has the jutjawed good looks favored in old Smilin' Jack cartoons: "We had to get away from the image of the guy in the leather jacket sitting around a potbelly stove at the airport. We wanted to streamline and standardize our operations so that the businessmen who used Hertz or Avis could identify with us.

Johnson put his station atterdants into blue-and-gold uniforms, standardized the instrument panels of his varying kinds of planes and set a rate structure that is not far off from that of a car-renal firm. The most inexpensive plane, a Cessna 150, rents for \$13 a day and 154 a mile. For traveling businessmen who cannot by themselves, a mile to for the properties of the properties of the form of the properties of the properties of the mails its own credit cards to all licensed pilots in each station's area.

Johnson occasionally uses flamboyant promotion. His company's slogan, embazoned on advertising signs and TV commercials, is "Go Fly Yourself." A buxom hostess with the all-too-obvious name of Lisa (pronounced Leax-a) has turned up in newspaper offices and at statement of the st

# Today, if your cardoesn't pull you out of a curve, you may have to be towed out.



Overseas delivery plan available,

tion openings to give away Red Baron flying helmets and buttons with the company slogan. For all its flair and standardization, Lease-A-Plane does not paint its aircraft in distinguishing colors. Explains Johnson: "If a businessman wants to rent one of our planes and then try to bull his customers into believing that it is his plane, that's his right."

# PRODUCTS Requiem for a Polymer

Ever since Du Pont scientists in the 1930s mixed coal tar, air and water to produce nylon, the wizards of Wilmington, Del, have been searching and researching for another ceally profiling and researching for another ceally profiling and researching to the process of the proce

time top of 2931. Last week Du Pont announced that, after seven years of bad luck, it is walking out on Corfam. Though some 100 million pairs of synthetic shoes are still afoot, the firm has lost as much as \$100 million trying to make and market its material. A flood of inferior but cheaper leather substitutes crowded Corfam out of the low-priced shoe market, company men said, and consumers kept favoring leather for expensive footwear. Many people complained that Corfam shoes were hard to break in and hot to wear. The company was never able to reduce production costs enough to make the material profitable for use in luggage and other leather goods. While production of Corfam is being phased out over the next year, Du Pont will continue the

# THE ECONOMY

Chorus for a Tax Cut

As doubts increase that the Nixon Administration will achieve its goal of a \$1,065 billion gross national product this year, the debate is heating up over whether the Government should change policy and use its fastest-acting economic stimulant: a tax cut. Congress last week put more money into consumers' pockets by voting a retroactive 10% increase in Social Security benefits but postponing until next year a boost in Social Security taxes. Beyond that, economic activists want the Government to bring forward into 1971 some of the reductions in personal income taxes scheduled under present law to take effect in 1972 and 1973. Two weeks ago, Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns suggested that the Government may have to do that, as well as reinstate the 7% investment tax credit for business. Last week Senator Edmund Muskie, front runner for the Democratic presidential nomination, said that "we must accelerate some of the personal tax savings now scheduled for 1972 and 1973." Economist Alan Greenspan, a onetime Nixon adviser, figures that the odds are 2 to 1 in favor of the Administration's doing that. Estimated annual savings to taxpavers: \$4.5 billion.

Administration policy framers are still undecided. Proposing a tax cut would force the President to swallow some of the cheery rhetoric of his budget and economic messages. He would probably have to accept a full employment deficit in the budget-which he said the Government should tolerate only in times of emergency. On the other hand, the latest cost of living figures might lead policymakers to think that they could stimulate business without risking much extra inflation. Consumer prices in February rose at an annual rate of 2.4% down from 3.6% in January: the rise was the smallest since last August. Politically, a tax cut would be even more tempting than usual. The latest polls show Nixon's popularity at a record low, with the performance of the economy his weakest point and persistent unemployment especially dismaying to voters.



TRUCK-CAR CRASH
A capitulation to stand-pat forces?

# INSURANCE A Timid Step Toward Reform

Hardly anybody disputes the proposition that loddy's system of private auto insurance is a frustrating failure. Angered by soaring premiums, abruptly canceled policies and dubious compeniillions of Americans have concluded that radical reform of the \$12 billion-ayer industry is an urgent necessity. Last week the Nixon Administration endorsed that icae, but in such fainthearted fashion as to provoke accustations that the behavior of the control of the c

Presenting the Administration's reform proposals to the Senate Commerce

Committee, Secretary of Transportation John Volpe argued: "The present system needs change badly and needs it now." He backed the principle of no-fault auto insurance, under which accident victims

insurance, under which accident victims are promptly compensated for actual losses by their own insurance company, regardless of who was to blame. But instead of calling for a national program, Volpe merely asked Congress to encourage states to devise their own no-fault plans. He proposed no timetable or standards for state action.

Disgraceful Sham? Within the Administration's councils, Volpe had fought privately for stronger measures, urging that states be given a deadline to adopt no-fault insurance or face imposition of a federal plan. He was overruled by the White House after Presidential Aide



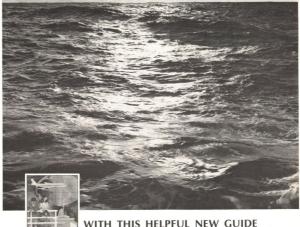
VOLPE TESTIFYING

Peter Flanigan listened to objections from insurance industry groups against federal insurance standards. "The department was forced not to retreat but into a near rout," complained Richard I. Barber, a former Deputy Assistant Transportation Secretary. Barber, who resigned late last year, freeted the 21-year, \$2,000,000 study that was supmissration's recommendations. Barber called the Administration's proposals "a disgraceful sham."

Most members of the Commerce Committee agreed, Michigan Democrat Philip Hart said that there is no time to talk about giving state action a chance to work "when there's a crisis." Hart is co-author of a federal bill that would provide no-fault payments for medical and rehabilitation expenses, plus up to \$30,000 over 30 months for loss of income. Accident victims would be able to sue in court only if they suffered "catastrophic" injuries. Despite the Administration's timid position, some form of the bill stands a reasonably good chance of congressional adoption, if not this year then in 1972.

Pain for Lawyers. While Congress debates, the 5,000,000 auto-accident victims per year will presumably continue to collect, as they did in 1967, only

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about 60% of their \$10.5 billion in medical expenses, loss of income and other damages. The Government's own study shows that under today's liability system, litigation consumes 17% of the time of state courts and produces \$1 billion a year in legal fees, but yields only 44 cents out of each premium dollar to repay victims for their losses for their losses.

Opponents of no-fault insurance, including the American Bar Association and many insurance executives, point out that it would limit a blameless victim's right to collect for pain and suffering. No-fault legislation has been introduced in 26 states; lawyers and insurance men sof a have been able to prevent its passage in 25. In Massafault coverage went into effect Jan. 1, results seem promising. During the first two months, bodily injury reports to teeism is a sign of progress, an indication that people no longer want to labor in great factories because they expect more out of life. Lately this problem has hit one of the world's fastestgrowing industrial countries, Italy.

Three years ago, an average 7% of the country's work force was out on any given day. This rose to 10% last year: on most Mondays, fully 14% of Italian worken played hooky, Absences of the country of th



DOCTOR EXAMINING ITALIAN WORKER AT HOME A chance to play hooky from boredom.

the state motor vehicle bureau dropped by 50%, indicating to supporters of the plan that motorists are making fewer false claims. Trial lawyers, however, have sued to have the whole scheme declared unconstitutional, because it makes damages for pain and suffering so difficult to collect.

# ITALY

# Every Day Is Sunday

Absenceism—staying away from the job—is a spreading plague in most industrial nations, including the U.S., Britian, France, Germany and especially cell that the workingman often grabe every opportunity to get away from the numbing boredom of the production line, but they add that attendance reords are high in industries like shiplarge segments of a product and thus can take satisfaction in their work. Some sociologists say that widespread absen-

By retarding the output of industrial exports, absenteeism was a primary cause of Italy's \$1.7 billion trade deficit last year. Managers trace the upsurge in absenteeism to a law, passed last June, forbidding company representatives from checking up at the home of employees who take off because of "illness." To collect his sick pay, which in the auto industry averages 50% of normal wages, a worker must now present only a doctor's certification that he has been ill. In a spot check on about 1,000 workers who had acquired certificates, the national health-insurance agency found that only 219 were really sick, 386 were completely well and 353 were uncheckable because they were away from home-possibly tending to their sex lives. The Turin Physicians' Association recently sent a letter to its members warning them against issuing fake certificates, "especially when the 'patient' is visiting in another city or spending time in jail."

they call the "Charlie Chaplin twitch."

# MILESTONES

Died. Thomas E. Dewey, 68, threeterm Governor of New York and twice a Republican presidential nominee (see THE NATION).

Died, Leland Hayward, 68, flamboyant Broadway producer; of a stroke; in Yorktown Heights, N.Y. Hayward's career began in the 1920s, when he produced some 20 feature films. "They stunk," he said, and people agreed. In the mid-'20s, a nightclub owner wished aloud that he had an attraction "like the Astaires," adding that he would pay \$4,000 for them. Hayward promptly turned agent and arranged the deal. "I decided this was my line of work," he said after collecting his 10% commission. After that, he steered the careers of James Stewart, Judy Garland, Clark Gable, Henry Fonda, Fred Astaire. Katharine Hepburn-also such writers as Ernest Hemingway, Edna Ferber and Ben Hecht, In 1944, he moved to Broadway, producing or co-producing, among other hits, A Bell for Adano, South Pacific. Gypsy, The Sound of Music.

Died, Bebe Daniels, 70, film star of the 1920s and '30s; of lung cancer; in London. Born into a theatrical family, she made her stage debut when her mother carried her onstage at the age of ten weeks. At four she was a trouper; at seven she was in movies. "Whatever I missed as a child," she once said, "I didn't mind missing." At 14 Bebe became Harold Lloyd's leading lady and at 18 achieved stardom after she signed with Cecil B. De Mille, later playing opposite Wallace Reid and Rudolph Valentino. She married Actor Ben Lyon, moved to London in 1936 and when war broke out, volunteered her services to the BBC. The first woman civilian to land in Normandy after the invasion, she interviewed G.I.s on the front lines. The couple spent most of the postwar period in Britain and during the '50s did a radio program called Life with the Lyons.

Died, Winthrop L. Biddle, 74, penniuses scion of the fabulous, prosperous, numerous Philadelphia Biddles; in an auto accident; in Haddon Township, N.J. Rejecting the family fortune, Biddle chose a drifter's life. He was killed by a hit-run driver while pushing a shopping cart full of his belongings down a country road.

Died, Hans Kohn, 79, prolific Pragueborn historium; of heart disease; in Philadelphia. Author of some 30 books, Kohn warned that nationalism, if not peacefully channeled, results in totalitarnaism and dictatorship. As a lecturer at Harvard and at Smith College, Kohn struggled "to get people excited over the right things. People need excitement, so they turn to storm troopers or to Stakhanov, vism, and these we must object to!"



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# CINEMA

# Anthology of Gaffes

Anyone defining schlemiel and schlimazel should consult a Yiddish lexicon or A New Leaf. Traditionally, a schlemiel is a person who spills the soup; a schlimazel is the one on whom he spills it. In this film the schlemiel is Henrietta (Elaine May). The schlimazel is Henry (Walter Matthau).

Henry's lack of character has been concealed by layers of that splendid raiment, money, But, alas, Henry has dipped into principal twice too often, and now all he has left is his red Ferrari and his gentleman's gentleman Harriold (George Rose). There are but two effortless avenues to wealth. One is inheritance—and Henry has used that up, the other avenue is marriage—followed

by inheritance.

Henry shudders, then squares his shoulders and waddes off to the alta—alone but hopeful. On the way he meets Henrietta, spilling tea at a party. As Elaine May plays her, Henrietta is hilarious anthology of gaffets; when she smiles, lipstick enamels her teeth. When her ness from a table, her lap is upholstered with crumits. Price tags cling to her new clothes, her fingers daughe from the properties of the state of the state of the walls with a state of the state of the wall her has one profound saving grace walls beyond warries. "He me the state using a state of the sta

That ends the comedy but not the picture. Henry studies manuals of toxicology, but never gets around to expunging his bride. Instead, the wastrel learns to endure her and discover the joys of financial management. That leaves Henry with something of a vocation, but it does not leave the audience with much of a picture. Once the laughs subside, the projpicture.

MAY & MATTHAU IN "A NEW LEAF" Crumbs on the lap.

ect, like Henry's old wallet, is bare. A New Leaf may be the first film in which Matthau is miscast. He retains his unique webfooted shuftle, and still sends home end to the still still still still still send in gent lines ("That woman is not primitive, he is feral") belong on the plate of a George Sanders or a Clifton Webb, not in a sardonic side-of-the-mouth piece. Moreover, May's improvisatory direcwho could be used for nonsupport.

Perhaps the most damming analysis of A New Leaf comes from none other than Elaine May herself—by way of her lawyer: "a cifché-ridden, band story ... It will be a disaster if the film is released." The trouble, claims Kslar-Directior-Writer, is not the performances, more than the company of the company of the product, the claims in a fall 4-point complaint, took her black comedy away from her and "advised me ... that the film re-

planti. 1008 her black comedy away from her and "advised me . . . that the film released would be that as cut and edited refrire Steinkamp, a Hollywood editor, and Robert Evans, a vice president." Paramount Fettures Corporation. "Paramount insists that "Elaine May failed to perform her duties as a director in a timely, workmanlike and professional manner, resulting in substantially increased production costs." New York State Supreme Court Jus-New York State Supreme Court Jus-

New York State sopheme COUT fustice Irving H. Saypol viewed the film, then rendered his verdict: on with the show. Director May vows an appeal to withdraw the film. If that fails, she wants her name removed from the credits. Fortunately, she cannot remove her face. It belongs to the funniest litigant in town. Stean Konfey

- oreron

# **Future Imperative**

THX 1138 begins with a clip from the 1939 serial Buck Rogers, showing Buster Crabbe happily engaged in space exploration in the 25th century. But the real 25th century, says THX 1138 director George Lucas, is a denatured anthill where populations lead lives of quiet respiration. Every bodily function is mechanically analyzed; sexual relations are forbidden; food consists of am-

puls and dehydrated protein bars.

The government-a wretched wedding of Mao Tse-tung and the Internal Revenue Service-treats each person as a consumer-producer who lives to enhance the glorious state. In a world of progressive monotony. Lucas flashes some bright signs of humor; when THX (Robert Duvall) watches television, he turns to a channel where a beating proceeds incessantly-the violence and sadism of today's viewing, minus the annovances of plot. When THX is tried for the forbidden act of lovemaking, his judge is a computer. The police of the 25th century are chrome-plated automatons, one of whom is played by Johnny Weissmuller Jr. If Lucas creates an eerie universe, he also implies a rather damn-



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PRISONER IN "THX 1138" Lives of quiet respiration.

ing thought: Haven't we been here before? Indeed we have, in the constructions of George Orwell and Aldous Huxley, who used their views of the future to warn the present. Despite his scenes of bland horror, Lucas offers the 25th century as a rather arch, campy place, a conception not satiric enough to be accepted as comedy and not quite insightful enough to be taken seriously.

Some of the same faults afflict The Andromed Strein, a bigger, better-league movie. Michael Crichion's novel posed the conundrum: What would happen if a space-probe satellite returned to earth carrying a malignant germ? The solution it offered was disquieting. The film is a reasonably faithful replica, complete with deus ex machinations.

Bacteriologist (Arthur Hill), biologist (Kate Reid), surgeon (James Olson) and pathologist (David Wayne) are assigned to analyze the microscopic object, which consumes plastic and turns blood to powder. One American town has already been annihilated; now the Andromeda strain seems bent on total destruction. The Thing multiplies by some unknown process. At great-too great-length, the brains decide to nuke it to death. But wait! They suddenly realize their folly. Split atoms are what make the Thing thrive. It eats them for breakfast. The countdown begins. Can the stalwart surgeon defuse the bomb in time? The clock eats up seconds-30 . . . 29 . . . 28 . . .

Director Robert Wise and his quarted are so epperf at sustaining suspense that they almost disguise The Andrombed Strain's great pretense. Despite its trappings, the plot employs nothing but the conventional weapony of the gradinificance and emerges as very modest entertainment. Still, in its darker moments, like THX 1138, it does a thorough job of belittling science as savior,

■ S.K.



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# BOOKS

# **Future Grok**

In Kurt Vonnegut's God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater, our drunken hero crashes a convention of science-fiction writers. "I love you sons of bitches," he says. "You're the only ones with guts enough to really care about the future, who really notice what machines do to us, what wars do to us, what cities do to us, what tremendous misunderstandings, takes, accidents and catastrophes do to us. You're the only ones zany enough to agonize over time and distances without limit, over mysteries that will never die, over the fact that we are right now determining whether the space voyage for the next billion years or so is going to be Heaven or Hell."

Star-Schlock, Rosewater feels the same way when he is sober, although he finds it necessary to note that most science-fiction writers can't write "for sour apples.

A fairer estimate lies somewhere between drinks. Although writers from Poe and Hawthorne to William Burroughs. Anthony Burgess and Doris Lessing have written what could be called science fiction, professional science-fiction writers have rarely been encouraged to be good stylists as well. This is partly because SF publishing and marketing methods make little distinction between the kind of starschlock in which intergalactic cops battle hypothyroid blobs, and a well-wrought literary work in which farreaching concepts and social problems are dramatized with intelligence, wit and verbal skill. Even the better SF writers often find it necessary to clutter their prose with spectacular appliances and baptize their earthlings with names full of such Siamese vowels and miscegenated consonants as in Tklook and Klaarv.

More important, critics and reviewers

who confer literary status rarely know much about science or technology. Most science-fiction writers, however, browse knowledgeably through specialized journals where many of them find the metaphorical seeds of their novels and short stories, Some, like Isaac Asimov and Arthur Clarke, are trained scientists. Even journeymen practitioners of SF are likely to know more about literature than most novelists and critics know about science. And in the 20th century, ignorance of the fundamentals-and social implications-of physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics constitutes an embarrassing form of illiteracy.

Despite much misunderstanding over the past half-dozen years, SF has undergone an explosive growth in both production and consumption, particularly among the members of the pot-rock generation. In perspective, the interest in SF can be seen as part of the natural anxiety about the future of the planet, the same concern that is expressed in such popular songs as In the Year 2525. even Bob Dylan's Talking World War III Blues. Yet many of the most pop-ular SF titles were first published before most of their young readers had cracked Dick and Jane. Isaac Asimov's Foundation trilogy-about the death, rebirth and struggles of a universal civilization-appeared in the early '50s. Arthur Clarke's Childhood's End, a finely tuned tale of the mystical reconstitution of the human race, has gone through 18 printings since 1953. Walter M. Miller Jr.'s A Canticle for Leibowitz, an extraordinary novel even by literary standards, has flourished by word of mouth for a dozen years. Vonnegut's The Sirens of Titan and Cat's Cradle, and Ray Bradbury's Martian Chronicles continue to lead long lives in their pub-

Unlike many bestselling popular novelists who squint at headlines for topical book ideas, SF writers often prove to be commercially farsighted. Two of the most spectacularly successful SF novels of recent years, Frank Herbert's Dune and Robert Heinlein's Stranger in a Strange Land, are good examples of how public concerns and infatuations catch up with the science-fiction imagination. Both books have been extremely popular with youth, which is greatly involved with the power of mysticism and the impieties of earthly industrial civilization.

Stranger, first published in 1961, and Dune (1965) both star messianic heroes who are charged with psychic abilities and Christlike symbolism. Heinlein's Valentine Michael Smith is a 22nd century human born on Mars to space-pioneer parents. He descends to earth, where Heinlein puts him through a Voltairian gavotte full of broad satire at the expense of organized religion, and teaches him strychnic cynicism about human nature. But what makes V. Michael so groovy, outasight, oh wow! etc., is his powers of clairvoyance and telekinesis.

Through a Martian form of megaempathy known as "grokking," Smith com-prehends people and situations instantly in all their sensuous complexity. It makes for exceptionally intense religious and sexual experiences. One sophisticated though unsuspecting beauty, who is asked why she fainted after kissing Smith, replies, "When Mike kisses you he isn't doing anything else!" Esalen T-groups frequently use the term grokking in their touch therapy, and Charles Manson seems to have based his "family" on Valentine Michael Smith's circle of friends. He even named an illegitimate son after the Heinlein hero.

Paul Atreides, the hero of Dune, is also well equipped. A superior thoughthypnotist, swordsman (of the old school) and ecologist, he is descended from an



HERBERT ON DESERT ECOLOGY (1965)



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"I couldn't dream of a better opportunity," said the Sandman when asked why he decided to join the Howard Iohnson's organization. He added, "The only problem

I see is keeping my weight down since it's hard for me to make my rounds without popping into one of the great Howard Johnson's restaurants right next door." Besides the Sandman's sleep-

inducing duties, he has also agreed to conduct periodic inspections of Howard Johnson's dreamy mattresses, quietly comfortable rooms, and Z whisper quiet halls.

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Advertisement | antitechnology religion is summed up in the commandment, "Thou shalt not disfigure the soul." Set on the nearly waterless planet of Arrakis thousands of years in the future, Dune is a swashbuckling account of how human civilization, as it is now known, is reborn in a desert

Like most science fiction, Stranger and Dune are conceptually rich. This is especially true of Dune, which has 541 pages crammed with the canned fruits of Herbert's researches into ecology, desert cultures and history. There are even extensive appendices outlining the soil growth and planting schedules that Atreides projected for his centuries-long ecological project to make Arrakis

Heinlein, 63, is generally acknowledged to have revolutionized American SF more than 30 years ago, by raising both its idea quotient and its writing level. At the time, the field was mainly influenced by the hard-core gadget stories made popular in Hugo Gernsback's magazine Amazing Stories. In 1956, Heinlein suggested that the term science fiction should be changed to speculative fiction in order to include its new dimensions. Today, though, a growing number of younger SF writers are insisting that a post-Heinlein period is long overdue.

One of the best of the younger SF writers is Samuel R. Delany, a 28-yearold New Yorker whose novels, The Einstein Intersection and Babel-17 won Science Fiction Writers awards in 1966 and 1967. Together with last year's Nova, a space saga that suggests Moby Dick at a strobe-light show, they are not only admired by his professional peers but are also popular successes. Delany has a grasp of the evolutionary nature of mythology, a subtle comic touch and a lyric sense of the outsider making his unorthodox way in the world-or worlds-that give his work a dimension unusual in science fiction Comparable qualities can be found

in Roger Zelazny's Lord of Light, Ursula LeGuin's Left Hand of Darkness, John Brunner's Stand on Zanzibar, Thomas M. Disch's Camp Concentration. James Blish's A Case of Conscience and Robert Silverberg's Night Wings, as well as Joanna Russ's And Chaos Died, an amusing tour de force about a sophisticated homosexual encounter with a telepathic civilization. Miss Russ, incidentally, teaches sciencefiction writing at Cornell University. one of the 70 colleges across the country that now offer such courses. The upswing of academic interest in

the subject has lately tended to give sci-ence fiction a new "literary" class in much the same way that the movies became cinema and jazz graduated from speakeasies to the Philharmonic, where it is now parsed by critics. In theory, this development should delight SF writers. But Judy-Lynn Benjamin, managing editor of Galaxy, an SF monthly, sees a certain resultant deterioration in the tools of the SF trade. "Young writers,"

she says, "are often more interested in symbols than in stories. Plot is out. Characters are out. All they want is the Big Experience."

Still, the demand for science fiction is creating a sellers' market and attracting more and more young talent. By the law of averages, some of these new writers will be good enough to make the terms science fiction and speculative fiction irrelevant.

R.Z. Sheppard

## Notable

THE MEMOIRS OF CHIEF RED FOX edited by Cash Asher. 208 pages. McGraw-Hill. \$6.95.

Indians have become all the rage —at Washington hearings, in fashions, on the screen (Little Big Man) and even on bestseller lists (Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee). Now comes a book worthy of being another bestseller: the



RED FOX
In the dark, ancestors' ghosts.

diary of a charming and extraordinary red man who is pushing 101. Chief Red Fox is a nephew of Crazy Horse. He has lived through both Custer's last stand and Alan Shepard's attempt to play golf on the moon. Somehow he manages a genuine appreciation for the cultures that produced both events.

The book owes a heavy debt to Editor.

The book owes a heavy debt to Editor of Ashard we reorganized the chief's reAshard we reorganized the chief's rethe control of the chief of the chief of the chief of the chief of a field mouse, "the reader will rarely be aware of any white man's intruding as a chid "to make a fishhook from the 
hand. "I am not sentimental," says Red 
Fox, "but memories haunt me as I review 
seenes from the days before I was o'd 
enough to understand that all Indian 
things would pass away."

The first half of his book traces the passing. It includes a chilling reconstruction of Custer's defeat at Little Big Horn and the apparently retaliatory slaughter

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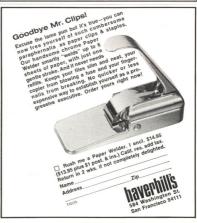
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of starving Indians at Wounded Knee 14 years later. At ten, in 1880, Red Fox was sent to the Carlisle Indian School where he began moving into the white world. Thereafter he went to sea briefly ("It was like viewing eternity in motion"), and at 23 joined Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show. On opening night in London in 1905, part of his act was to chase a careering stagecoach and "tomahawk" a paleface, who turned out to be none other than King Edward VII out on a lark. There were other shows and later movies where he did war-dance bits and attacked wagon trains. "I am not ungrateful for what the white man has given me," says Chief Red Fox, "but the ghosts of my ancestors stalk me at times in the dark and congregate around me when I meditate in solitude.

HOSTAGE IN PEKING by Anthony Grey. 365 pages, Doubleday, \$7.95.

On Nov. 26, 1968, two British diplomats paid a brief official call on imprisoned Reuters Correspondent Anthony Grey in Peking. At that point, Grey had spent 466 days in isolation as a hostage. His visitors left, deeply shaken by his apparent despair. Said one, afterward: "He lives in a void."

Not quite. Grey was driven terrifyingly close to breakdown on occasions, as this moving account indicates. But he did contrive to keep a secret journal (on which the book is based), and he evolved other ways of keeping mind and body together. Locked up in his own home, forbidden by his guards to have anything but a change of clothing and a few books, he devised his own crossword puzzles, invented games and immersed himself in self-taught yoga. By the end of his 806day confinement, Grey had also managed to teach himself enough Chinese to read the slogans smeared across his walls by the screaming Red Guards who had first invaded his home to lock him up in August 1967. Grey's imprisonment had been carefully planned-the Peking goverpment was intent on holding him until Britain released all 13 Communist Chinese newsworkers imprisoned in Hong Kong for their roles in the riots that had shaken the British colony that summer. The British government refused to bargain. Both nations were intent on saving face. Grey was caught in the middle. His story of the wretched time he endured before the last Hong Kong prisoner was freed and he was released is bitter and compelling.

PARADISE by Patrick Dennis. 336 pages. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. \$6.95.

Auntie Mame would feel like a strangerin her creator's Paradike, Patrick Dennis' latest novel. The charisma, cheerful talent and canny sense of the absurd that brought fame to Mame are conspicuously absent this time. Too bad, because Dennis has invented a situation with comic possibilities. At the start of the tourist season an earthquake transforms

an Acapulco resort into an island rocked by storms. Both amenities and necessities swiftly disappear. As Dennis' caricatures try to cope with life in the raw, long-distance television cameras grind away from the shore, picking up every grisly move. The show, a modified Candia Camera, grows more and more popular as the eastiaways become more and more degraded. But the author, like offers the control of the co

THE TENTH MONTH by Laura Z. Hobson. 286 pages. Simon & Schuster. \$6.95.

Twenty-four years ago Gentleman's Agreement became a bestseller by dealing directly and dramatically with a real problem: the smooth but insidiously pervasive anti-Semitism still practiced in



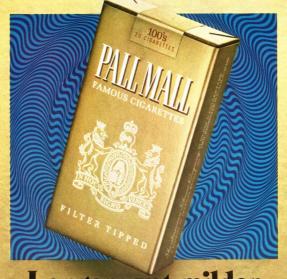
LAURA Z. HOBSON In motherhood, a surprise goal.

the U.S. shortly after World War Ii. Now, in The Tenth Month, Laura Z. Hobson pretends to take on the problem of the unwed mother. Much anguish is possible in such a situation, but Dori, Miss Hobson's heroine, just doesn't seem all that unfortunate. At 40 she is a beautiful divorcee with a successful career and no lack of lovers-in short, a thoroughly modish lady-magazine heroine. Years after a botched abortion has left her supposedly unable to conceive again, she suddenly finds herself with child. Although she no longer cares for the father and her current lover cannot bring himself to marry her, she discovers that it is motherhood, not marriage, that she really wants. So with all the courage of a woman with money, understanding friends and an unbelievably helpful obstetrician, she has her baby. Does Dori find happiness as an unwed mother? The reader won't believe Hobson's choice. It's just too untrue to be good.

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